

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY
OF SYMBOLIC THINKING TO UNDERSTANDING
THE UNCONSCIOUS ROOTS OF PREJUDICE

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To my friend David Morgan, M.D.,
who inspired the idea.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to clarify the unconscious roots of prejudice. As such the study falls within the general context of race relations and of the present Civil Rights movement. It is a subject which has been approached from many points of view. Because of this, perhaps the most adequate way to define the area of concern in this study is to state first what lies outside its bounds.

In the first place, this study will not deal with the historical influences which help to shape prejudice. The role of social and cultural factors throughout history in the development of prejudice seems undeniable. The encyclopedic study presented by Myrdal, et al.,¹ two decades ago contains overwhelming evidence of the importance of these factors. To fully understand such aspects of prejudice as why the group against whom the prejudice is directed is chosen, why prejudice varies in intensity, and the kind of discriminatory behavior practiced seems obviously to entail some understanding of the broad social

¹Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944).

context of race relations. It can even be said that without the social and historical processes the individual psychological phenomena would not have occurred, or at least would not have assumed such tremendous proportions.

Secondly, this study will not deal with the social function of prejudice. Whether prejudice is used by some with vested interests to exploit certain minority groups, or whether prejudice functions as a social barrier replacing former barriers such as slavery or geographical distance is not an issue here. The social justifications for prejudice will be considered, however, in-so-far as they aid in understanding the functioning of prejudice within the individual.

And thirdly, this study will not concern itself with the current debate over the relationship of prejudiced attitudes to discriminatory behavior. The recent questioning by sociologists² of the assumption that discriminatory behavior is determined by prejudiced attitudes has aroused considerable reactions among psychologists and led to a reevaluation of an admittedly oversimplified as-

²H. Blumer, "Recent research on racial relations; United States of America," International Social Science Bulletin, X(1958), 403-447.

sumption.³ Although the outcome of this debate is important in determining the relevance of this study should one attempt to use it to better understand and eliminate discriminatory behavior, the study is relevant in its own right as an inquiry into the unconscious roots of prejudice. The operations of the human mind are determinative of human behavior, although admittedly in some as yet uncertain ways. And the study of the mental processes involved in prejudice need not await the conclusions of research designed to determine the precise relationship of prejudice and discrimination. Race relations are very complex phenomena, and this study is merely intended to supplement studies made of other aspects of the problem from various points of view.

It should be clear that this study does not presuppose reducing racial prejudice to unconscious factors. The focus here is upon the unconscious factors, but recognition is made of the overdetermination of prejudice. Social, political, historical, and economic factors all play a part in prejudice, as Allport in his textbook on

³G. W. Allport, "Prejudice: Is it Societal or Personal?" Journal of Social Issues, XVIII (1959), 120-134. Also Thomas Pettigrew, "Social Psychology and Desegregation Research," American Psychologist, XVI (1961), 102-112.

the subject has demonstrated.⁴ But neither do these other factors determine the whole picture. Psychological phenomena also cannot be reduced to societal forces. Prejudice is such a strange, many-faceted, and, at this point, incomprehensible phenomenon that this study does not presume to give a comprehensive explanation of it. But it does seem that certain aspects of it can be better understood if the psychological aspects, in which emotional and irrational elements predominate, are articulated.

This study will concern itself with the individual psychic structure which lends itself to prejudice. It is a study of the unconscious layers of the mind where certain kinds of preoccupations and symbolic thinking predominate.

Because not all psychoanalytic schools of thought deal with or contribute to an understanding of symbolic thinking, only those authors who discuss symbolic thinking are referred to in this study. The school which has done much of the work in formulating the psychoanalytic theory of symbolic thinking is the British school located at the Tavistock Institute in London. Melanie Klein, who, until her recent death, was leader of this school, was a

⁴G. W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954).

disciple of Karl Abraham, who, in turn, was a disciple of Sigmund Freud and the first psychoanalyst in Berlin. Those who have flanked Melanie Klein at the Tavistock Institute include Bion, Money-Kyrle, and Susan Isaacs, all of whom are referred to in this study.

Among those psychoanalytic authors not referred to here are Carl Jung, Alfred Adler, Otto Rank, Ian Suttie, Karen Horney, Erick Fromm, and Harry Stack Sullivan. These authors represent points of view which at points are radically different from the traditional Freudian approach, and have become the leaders of different schools of thought within the field of psychoanalysis. The omission of such significant psychoanalytic thinkers in a psychoanalytically oriented study requires some explanation.

To include Jung's theory of symbolism in this study is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis. An analysis of his theory of symbolic thinking, involving as it does the synthesizing function of symbols and their reference to the future, would require a study in itself. It is the infantile nature and reference of symbolic thinking which is focused upon here. Some suggestion of the synthesizing function of symbolic thinking is presented in this thesis, however, in the chapter entitled "Identity and Prejudice" (Chapter VI). The contribution of psychoanalytic ego

psychology stemming out of the Freudian school and elaborated by Erik Erickson in terms of the developmental crises which arise at the various stages of life has begun to approximate Jung's contribution.

Alfred Adler believed that the guiding principle of life is to master one's innate feeling of inferiority. Instead of discussing one's adaptation to life in terms of symbolic thinking, however, he spoke of "guiding fictions" of which one avails himself. These "guiding fictions" refer to schemes of understanding and orientation, frames of reference, and modes of organizing experience. The choice of "guiding fictions" and the flexibility with which they are maintained makes all the difference in terms of a person's mental health. If one adheres rigidly to an unworkable and unrealistic "guiding fiction," he is doomed to compulsive and irrational behavior. Such an individual would probably be prejudiced. But since Adler does not contribute explicitly to an understanding of the role of symbolic thinking in one's life adaptation--and so in one's prejudice--his theories are not utilized here.

Otto Rank was one who dwelt at length in his theories on symbolism and mythology. He interpreted the function of symbolism to be that of disguising one's wish to return to the womb of the mother; a wish stimulated by

the "trauma of birth," and functioning not only to master the primal anxiety involved, but also to create or give birth to one's own individuality and autonomous will. It is this individuality which needs and uses illusions in order to survive. In order to be happy and well-adjusted, one must affirm certain beliefs, which can be only illusions, as his own. This concept of living by illusions approximates Adler's concept of following "guiding fictions," but Rank, also, delineates his theories in terms other than symbolic thinking and they cannot be used here.

Likewise, Ian Suttie, a British psychoanalyst not part of the Kleinian school, does not formulate his theories in terms of symbolic thinking. His emphasis on how hate is the resultant of frustrated love is a significant contribution to an understanding of human nature, but does not help to clarify the specific processes involved in symbolic thinking nor how symbolic thinking operates in the individual.

The so-called neo-Freudians, Horney, Fromm, and Sullivan, who have called attention to the social and cultural influences in the development of the human personality have also formulated their theories in terms other than symbolic thinking. Horney has stressed how the individual's neurotic or irrational behavior develops within

the context of his social environment. The individual's conflicting attitudes toward his social environment give rise to a basic anxiety and the anxiety issues in conflicting attitudes. Her concepts of the "idealized image" and "externalization" as attempts to resolve such conflicting attitudes parallels such concepts as "idealization" and "projection" which are mechanisms operative in symbolic thinking, but she does not explicate them in terms of symbolic thinking.

Fromm emphasizes the need of the individual for relatedness to other human beings, and the significance of the specific kind of relatedness one develops. He claims that the individual must develop a frame of orientation and devotion which emerges as his specific character system. Such a character system is based upon inherited qualities, social influences and cultural possibilities. Although Fromm's theories are not delineated in terms of symbolic thinking, his ideas are utilized in this thesis in the discussion concerning the nature of preoccupations.

And Sullivan's "interpersonal theory of psychiatry" is also not explicated in terms of symbolic thinking. His differentiation between three modes of experience or knowing--prototaxic, parataxic, and syntaxic--approximates what Money-Kyrle (of the Kleinian school) has differen-

tiated as "subjective monism," "Naive realism," and "the dualism of common sense" (for an explication of these terms see Chapter IV below). But because Sullivan does not connect his concept of cognitive development with symbolic thinking, while Money-Kyrle does, Sullivan's theories are not applicable in this study.

To omit reference to these important psychoanalytic authors is not meant to imply that they have nothing to contribute toward an understanding of prejudice. But as regards the role of symbolic thinking in the unconscious roots of prejudice, their theories are not specifically relevant.

II. THESIS

The roots of prejudice in the unconscious are symbolic thinking and the preoccupations which originate as a result of psychosexual development. Symbolic thinking is a form of thinking which is not logical or directed thinking. It is thinking rather in terms of images which are connected together by association. For example, green table and green shoes may be connected together in an individual's thinking not by any logic, but simply by association--both are green. Likewise, the shape of objects may lead to their being associated in symbolic thinking, as when a snake is equated with a penis or a rolling landscape with a mother's body. Symbolic thinking uses the images and phantasies which were developed in the mind of the infant as he learned to relate to reality. The images are objects and part-objects which include primarily bodies and parts of bodies. And because such thinking is also animistic in nature these bodies and part bodies are invested with life. The mechanisms involved in symbolic thinking invest the objects with one's own impulses and wishes. These objects are thereby deified (if they are invested with positive impulses) and demonized (if they are invested with negative impulses). The projection of one's positive and negative impulses and wishes onto one's

image of external objects represents an objectification and personification of goodness and evil, i.e., of one's ambivalence, and provides one not only with a distorted picture of the world, but also with a faulty guide for moral behavior. In symbolic thinking light is associated with things or beings that are clean, good, white, and safe; whereas darkness is associated with what is dirty, evil, black, and dangerous. These associations stem from the unconscious of all men and have been the root for both Caucasians and Negroes thinking of the Caucasian as white and good while thinking of the Negro as black and evil. That is why symbolic thinking is an unconscious root of prejudice.

Another unconscious root of prejudice is the fact of preoccupations which develop out of pregenital sexuality. Although the term "preoccupation" is not used in the psychoanalytic literature, it is used here in order to simplify the discussion. The use of this term in explaining the unconscious dynamics of prejudice is not intended to imply that individuals who are prejudiced are obsessional neurotics. Some individuals with anal preoccupations undoubtedly are, but most others probably are not. The instinctual wish of the individual, his fear of the wish expressing itself, and his defenses against it

are all parts of what constitute a preoccupation. As the child progresses through the different psychosexual stages delineated by psychoanalysts, he faces serious crises. To the extent that he masters the crisis of each stage, he passes through the stage without remaining preoccupied with the problems incident to development in that stage. But to the degree that the crisis is left unresolved, the individual remains preoccupied with those problems. A fixation takes place, and as an adult the individual in times of stress tends to regress to this stage. These preoccupations tend to manifest themselves in symbolically disguised form. One is unaware of their presence, and only a trained observer can be certain of their significance. They manifest themselves in such things as traits of character, and as compulsive and irrational behavior. It is such preoccupations which constitute the unconscious contribution to the selection of the issues focused on in prejudice, and to the kinds of justifications used for prejudice.

III. NOTES ON THE LITERATURE

In a report prepared for the International Social Science Bulletin, Blumer⁵ claims that in the two decades preceeding 1958 (the year his report appeared) well over a thousand articles and books of a learned nature on the subject of race relations were published. That was nearly a decade ago, and since that time a review of the Psychological Abstracts indicates that a multitude of articles and books on the same subject have appeared. However, most researches devoted to race relations in the United States have been closely tied to the social interest in reducing or eliminating discrimination. This means that they have been mostly fact-finding and descriptive of race relations, reporting on the various items chosen for study, such as racial differences, the rank order of discrimination, the effect of discrimination on personality, the different aspects of the social life and organization of racial minority groups, and the origins and functions of prejudice.⁶

The last mentioned category, the origins and functions of prejudice is, then, only one area of investigation regarding race relations, howbeit a large one. Blumer⁷

⁵Blumer, op. cit., p. 406 ⁶Ibid, p. 419 ⁷Ibid.

asserts that by far the largest portion of race relations research has been done in the area of prejudice, and the same appears to have been true in the 9 years since his report. But the concern of this study, as outlined earlier, focuses on only a small part of this area. The origins of prejudice are many and so are the functions of prejudice. This study focuses on only one of the origins of prejudice--the unconscious roots.

The literature which deals with the unconscious roots of prejudice is significant, but not numerous. Because a review of this literature is presented in Chapter II, a few comments on its nature will suffice here.

Psychoanalytic authors began to focus on the dynamics of prejudice in the late 1930's. The early studies were mainly in the form of articles and stressed the unconscious factors involved in prejudice. Most of the studies were about Anti-Semitism. By the late 1940's, however, there appeared several extensive research studies employing psychoanalytic theory. These studies were efforts to establish connections between certain personality dynamics and the dynamics of prejudice. Whereas the earlier articles had stressed the mechanisms involved in scapegoating, these later studies tended to focus on the character structure of the prejudiced individual, and on

how prejudice functions within the personality.

The development of psychoanalytic ego psychology in the last two decades⁸ has led to new approaches. But the contributions of ego psychology have been mixed in with traditional psychoanalytic concepts, and while the result has been illuminating in places, in other places it has led to contradictions. This inadequacy of conceptual tools has made an effective analysis of prejudice in terms of ego psychology impossible.

In this study we return to the earlier theories of the unconscious roots of prejudice. A place is given to the implications of ego psychology (see Chapter VI on Identity), but the focus of this study is on the mechanisms involved in scapegoating and on the specific psychosexual motivation involved in the selection of a scapegoat and of the issues contended.

IV. METHODOLOGY

The method chosen for this study is not experimental in nature. The approach here will be to apply the traditional psychoanalytic theory of unconscious mental functioning to phenomena both observed and reported as ex-

⁸David Rapaport, "A Historical Survey of Psychoanalytic Ego Psychology," Psychological Issues, I (1959) 5-18.

pressions of prejudice. The study will utilize the evidence reported in previous studies on prejudice. Previous studies have not emphasized the various preoccupations involved in prejudice. Most have simply assumed in this regard that prejudice represents a phallic preoccupation stemming out of an unresolved oedipal conflict.⁹ Only two studies on record to date, Hamilton¹⁰ and McLean¹¹ recognize either oral or anal elements in prejudice. The present study delineates the significance of all three preoccupations.

V. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Because this study is not experimental in design, it is not without challenge. But its importance is not meant to be a proof of psychoanalytic interpretation, or the fact that such unconscious factors are operative in any single instance of prejudice. It does not prove

⁹B. Bird, "A Consideration of the Etiology of Prejudice," Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, (1957), 493.

¹⁰James Hamilton, "Some Dynamics of Anti-Negro Prejudice," The Psychoanalytic Review, 411, I (Spring 1966), 5-16.

¹¹Helen McLean, "Psychodynamic Factors in Racial Relations," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. CCXLIV (1946), 159-166.

either of these. Its significance rests upon the evidence it adduces that not only is symbolic thinking involved in prejudice, but also that the various issues contended with in prejudice are preoccupations which can be distinguished in terms of the psychoanalytic theory of the psychosexual stages of development.

The study does not contend that every instance of prejudice can be explained in terms of the unconscious roots or even that such unconscious roots are present in every instance of prejudice. But in some instances of prejudice the unconscious roots are present, determinative, and even the primary determinants. And where the unconscious roots of prejudice are present, they can be understood in the terms presented here.

VI. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Because this study follows the traditional psychoanalytical approach to prejudice, it will be important for the reader to have some knowledge of that tradition. For this reason the second chapter will be a review of the literature in which the main elements of that tradition are highlighted. Throwing this traditional psychoanalytic approach into relief will help to clarify the purpose of this study.

The second section of the study (Chapters III, IV, V, VI) will be the definition of the conceptual tools employed in the interpretation of prejudice. In Chapter III the psychoanalytic theory of cognitive development will be presented. It is in this development that the processes involved in symbolic thinking emerge. Chapter IV will then define symbolic thinking, and illustrate its operation in everyday behavior. And Chapter V will detail the development of preoccupations. It is Chapters IV and V that define the main conceptual tools of our study. The last chapter in this section (Chapter VI) will deal more directly with the contributions of ego-psychology and the problems of identity formation in connection with the function of prejudice within the individual. It will clarify the operation and interaction of symbolic thinking and preoccupations within the individual in both their positive and negative aspects.

The third section of the study applies the conceptual tools to the phenomena observed and reported as prejudice. In Chapter VII the evidence of phallic preoccupations in prejudice will be presented. This chapter will summarize much of the material presented in previous psychoanalytic studies which are primarily phallically oriented. Chapter VIII will deal with the anal elements

involved in prejudice. Some of this material is derived from single article on the subject which has appeared in the psychoanalytic literature, and the rest from other sources. Chapter IX will conclude the section with the application of the conceptual tools of the study to phenomena which betray oral preoccupations in prejudice. Since the oral components of prejudice have not heretofore been delineated, this chapter contains a new contribution.

The last chapter of this study is the conclusion. Included in this chapter will be a summary of the limitations of symbolic thinking and preoccupations and some suggestions regarding how one can get free from these limitations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The studies on the unconscious roots of prejudice began with a book entitled Frustration and Aggression¹ published in 1939. Although this study was not about prejudice per se, it did formulate a thesis which became the framework for the "Scapegoat theory" of prejudice. Dollard, et al., asserted that aggression is always the consequence of frustration² and that such aggression may under certain circumstances (e.g., where the direct expression of aggression is inhibited) be displaced onto other objects.³ They thereby explain race prejudice⁴ as a form of aggression which is either "direct," when the frustrating object is the racial group in question, or displaced, when the attacked group is not the frustrating one. They claim that such attacks are excused on the basis that the group in question poses a competitive threat to the in-group, or that the group in question is identified as a scapegoat by the dominant culture. Such excuses represent

¹John Dollard, et al., Frustration and Aggression (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939).

²Ibid, p. 1.

³Ibid, p. 41.

⁴Ibid, p. 151.

socially sanctioned and patterned outlets for aggression, and are needed because most responses of aggression are taboo in this culture.

This represents the extent of their theorizing about race prejudice, but because the scapegoat theory of prejudice has been unanimously accepted by the authors whose studies are to be reviewed here (although accepted only within their own modifications and elaborations) a more extensive explanation of its nature is in order. The term "scapegoat" itself refers to an ancient practice of the Hebrew people.⁵ In order to purify themselves they would load all their sins onto a goat and then drive it out into the desert. The term "scapegoat" is also used in explaining the psychodynamics of prejudice because the majority projects their own inadequacies onto the minority, and vice versa.

According to this theory, prejudice is not in reaction to an external stimulus, but to an internal process --frustration. This frustration accumulates and generates aggression. The felt hostility seeks expression in aggressive behavior. But crucial to the theory is the thesis that the hostility is displaced from the original

⁵Lev. 16:20-22.

cause of frustration and is directed towards an innocent victim--a scapegoat. The reasons for such displacement are various. For instance, the cause of the frustration may be impersonal, such as "fate" or accidents, or its author may be too dangerous to be attacked. The persons toward whom the hostility is displaced are usually preferred because they are too weak, too defenseless, or too dependent on the aggressor to strike back.

In order for this process--frustration, aggression, displacement--to work successfully, it must be justified. Hostility and aggression are disapproved of unless there is good reason for them. This justification is related to the fact that as a rule the process of displacement is unconscious. The prejudiced person does not know why he hates the minority, or why he shifts his hostile aggression away from the actual, but inaccessible, sources of his frustration and onto innocent victims. To know that one was behaving in such an irrational and unjust way would offend one's intellectual pride and moral sense. One would condemn oneself on both scores. So, to avoid such self-condemnation, and to defend one's prejudice against other's condemnation, the individual keeps such motivation out of awareness and looks for ready-made excuses to justify his behavior. The process of justifying such irrational and

unjust behavior is called "rationalization."

Rationalization involves finding fault with the minority even when there is nothing for which to blame them. It is the means of proving that the scapegoat is not innocent, but really deserves one's hostile treatment. The three processes by which rationalization is carried out are blaming, projecting, and stereotyping.⁶

Blaming the innocent minority for one's own frustrations, failures, and misfortunes is the simplest form of scapegoating. It has the double advantage of allowing one to vent his hostile impulses and at the same time to save face regarding his own guilt. But the saving face necessitates some "proof" of the victim's guilt. This "proof" is provided by projecting onto the minority one's own traits and evil intentions. This frees one of the feelings of guilt for these and "proves" the guilt of the scapegoat.

Projection is also used in order to alleviate one's own anxiety. Projection of one's own unacceptable wishes

⁶G. W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 331. B. Zawadzki, "Limitations of the Scapegoat Theory of Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVIII (1948), 131ff.

and impulses onto others gives form and focus to an otherwise vague and intangible feeling of anxiety. Anxiety is focused and concretized in fear of a tangible menace which the scapegoat represents.

In order for the prejudiced person to rationalize his hatred against a whole group, he must make use of stereotypes. "Stereotype" is a concept used in social sciences to refer to a typical representative of a group. Usually it is referred to as a mental image of a typical group member which contains some characteristics traditionally ascribed to the group. The traits represented in such a stereotype are selected in an arbitrary way for the purpose of ridiculing or discrediting the group. They become part of the cultural tradition through their appearance in literature and folklore where they are solidified as types. Because they are learned as part of the culture they are passed on from generation to generation.

Stereotypes are not the result of inductive logic, but rather of over-generalization. They are the products of faulty thinking and perpetuate faulty thinking when they are used. They cause one to anticipate in new members of the group stereotyped those characteristics contained in the stereotype. Since one usually finds what he looks for, the stereotype "proves" itself to its user. In this way,

however, stereotypes help one to rationalize one's directing his hostility toward an innocent individual or group. So much for the scapegoat theory, per se, Many modifications and elaborations followed.

As early as 1940, Fenichel presented an article on some elements of a psychoanalytic theory of prejudice with specific regard for Anti-Semitism.⁷ His article predates the other significant psychoanalytic contributions to this problem and also set the stage for them. In his attempt to uncover the unconscious roots of prejudice, Fenichel employed the scapegoat theory, but was critical of its limitations. He believed that the theory did not sufficiently explain in which individuals the scapegoat mechanisms were more likely to operate, nor why a particular group is chosen as a victim, both of which were serious omissions.

In giving the theory more specificity and depth, Fenichel supplied some psychoanalytic information concerning the unconscious motivations involved. Fenichel emphasized the importance of the fact that the Jew is chosen as

⁷Otto Fenichel, "Psychoanalysis of Anti-Semitism," American Imago, I, 2 (1940).

a scapegoat in part because he is perceived as a foreigner.⁸ It is the Jew's (or any minority's) foreignness which stimulates and permits his being perceived by others as evil and dangerous. Foreignness is what minorities share with one's own unconscious. Both are experienced as "uncanny." And the "uncanny" is feared. Because magical thinking is integral to the development of every individual's mind, happenings which seem to prove the existence of magical connections are experienced as uncanny. Also, a murderer or one who has committed incest is experienced as uncanny because every individual has once felt such impulses and repressed them. Conversely, any person or group who is experienced as uncanny because of his foreignness is perceived as capable of murder and incest.

Fenichel reports⁹ how the strangeness of the Jew to the culture led to his being victimized in Czarist Russia. In a time of general misery and rebelliousness, the police there forged the protocols of the "Wise Men of Zion" in order to displace the attack of the populace from the

⁸ Otto Fenichel, "Some Elements of a Psychoanalysis of Anti-Semitism" in Ernst Simmel Anti-Semitism, (New York: International Universities Press, 1946), pp. 13-14.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

government authorities onto the Jews. The Jews were held responsible for the country's misery, and pogroms were initiated against them. Such scapegoating allowed the people to vent their destructive (rebellious) impulses and still obey and respect the ruling powers.

In this example of prejudice Fenichel deduced some of the deeper psychological reasons for an individual's employing the scapegoat mechanisms. He believed that for the unconscious of the rioters enacting the pogroms the Jew represented both the authorities and their own repressed instincts. Speaking psychoanalytically, the Jew was the external representation both for one's superego and for one's id. Such anti-Semitism condenses both instinctual rebellion against authorities (id) and cruel suppression and punishment of instinctual rebellion otherwise directed against oneself (superego). According to Fenichel, the Jew represents the rebellious tendencies and what is rebelled against (both unconscious) because of his foreignness.

As an attempt to uncover the unconscious roots of prejudice, Fenichel's article stood relatively alone until 1946. In that year his article was republished in a collection of essays on Anti-Semitism edited by Ernst Simmel. Articles also appeared that same year by Ernst Kris and

Helen McLean.¹⁰

Kris (1946) also emphasized the importance of the fear of the stranger as motivation for prejudice. He puts it in terms of fear of competition.¹¹ He believed that the prime motivating factor for prejudice is the majority's fear of competition from the minority. He stressed the fear especially of economic competition. In economic competition prejudice functions to replace the social barrier of other kinds, which the establishment of the belief in the equality of men and the fact of social mobility remove. But the competition is not only economic. It is also sexual. Although the fear of sexual competition has today lost some of its power, which it had in tribal life, it does still exist. The stranger may be both peculiarly attractive and repulsive at the same time, not only in tribal life but also in modern culture, because he, as a stranger is further removed from the barrier of incest. His approach, therefore, contains both adventure and danger.¹²

¹⁰Ernst Kris, "Notes on the Psychology of Prejudice," English Journal, XXXV 6 (1946), 306. Helen McLean, "Psychodynamic Factors in Racial Relations," Journal of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXLIV (1946), 159-61.

¹¹Kris, Op. Cit.

¹²Ibid.

Kris believed that the fear of competition is what stimulated the desire to maintain the integrity of a group and also the distance of one group from other groups. And the prejudice which results from this fear serves to maintain the distance and integrity of a group.

Although Kris discussed the scapegoat mechanisms in his article, he made no special refinements of it. The article by Helen McLean¹³ emphasized the conflict between the individual's passive dependent longings and his aggressive, narcissistic desires. It is out of this basic conflict, she believed, that the white man's prejudice stems. She adopted the scapegoat theory to explain the white man's prejudice, but she also pointed to motivation arising out of pregenital (oral, anal, and phallic) strivings in the individual.

McLean was impressed with the white man's fear of biological integration with the Negro.¹⁴ Such fear meant to her that there exists between the white man and the Negro a strong but unconscious mutual attraction. The deep attraction which the Negro holds for the white man is as the symbol of emotional freedom. Such a symbol gives secret gratification to the white man who is inhibited and

¹³ McLean, Op. Cit.

¹⁴ Ibid.

crippled in his instinctual satisfaction. This fascination stirs up in him deep feelings of dependent longing with regard to the Negro. Such feelings threaten the white man's feelings of prestige, however. They revive his feelings of impotence and insecurity. To escape this conflict within himself, the white man enslaved the Negro and created the myth of white superiority¹⁵ and continues to claim omnipotence and hide insecurity by projecting his own weakness onto the Negro and then turning the Negro into a scapegoat (she says "whipping post") for his own frustrations.¹⁶

McLean's contribution to elucidating the unconscious roots of prejudice was to at least allude to pregenital strivings other than phallic ones. The stress which Kris laid upon the fear of competition even though not articulated explicitly by him had reference to the phallic type pregenital strivings. The passive dependent pregenital strivings which McLean pointed to seem to be of an oral type.

In the same year (1946) as Kris' and McLean's articles appeared, Ernst Simmel edited a book entitled Anti-Semitism.¹⁷ His own article in the book was the most extensive. He also adopted the scapegoat theory of prejudice

¹⁵Ibid, p. 162. ¹⁶Ibid, p. 166 ¹⁷Op. Cit.

but made his own refinement of it. He insisted that prejudice is not a mass neurosis as seemed to be implied by some studies of anti-Semitism. He held that anti-Semitism is a "mass psychosis"¹⁸ by which he meant "unrestricted aggressive destructiveness displayed by groups of individuals under the spell of a delusion, in complete denial of reality..." He believed that it is under stress that such a psychosis of a mass nature manifests itself. People panic in a crisis¹⁹ and escape personal insanity in a mass psychosis. Otherwise normal individuals participate in a mass delusion by giving up their superego function to the group.²⁰ Fenichel had said that the Jew became the representation of both id and superego to the rioters. Simmel concurs regarding the external representation of the superego, but indicates that the matter is more complex. The superego becomes represented by external parental power for the anti-Semitic,²¹ but it is represented in a split fashion. The split is made on the basis of goodness and evil, and the superego is represented on the one hand by the hated enemy (Jews) but on the other by the loved leader. The superego is attacked in the form of the hated enemy,

¹⁸Ibid., p. 39

¹⁹Ibid., p. 44

²⁰Ibid., pp. 43-45

²¹Ibid., p. 47

but sanction for this attack is given by the superego as represented by the loved leader and the group he leads. Delusions of persecution are propagated by the leader and are shared by masses where they surrender their own superego functions to the group.

In an article published in 1947, Sterba²² explains how this split representation of the superego is manifest in the monotheistic system of religion. According to him

...our negative feelings against God the Father have to be displaced onto a substitute figure which is created for this purpose, and that is the devil. Psychologically God and Satan were originally one and the same. The myth of the Fall of the Angels betrays that originally the two belonged to the same locality; Satan wears horns, which are the attributes of gods in many religions....Satan is therefore the substitute for God as the object of our negative feelings, which derive from our original ambivalence toward our father in childhood. The devil has one significant feature in common with the Negro: both are black. In the unconscious of many people the two are identical, both being substitutes for the father insofar as he is hated and feared.²³

In this article Sterba made it clear that the split of the superego on the basis of good and evil is motivated by the positive and negative feelings one has toward parental

²²Richard Sterba, "Some Psychological Factors in Negro Race Hatred and in Anti-Negro Riots," Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences, I (1947), 411-427.

²³Ibid., p. 417.

figures, including God the Father. But of more significance in Sterba's article is his clarification of the twofold nature of phallic preoccupations involved in prejudice. From clinical material obtained in his psychoanalytic practice during the race riots in Detroit in 1943 he concluded,

that the negative attitudes toward Negroes has a twofold origin, and that it manifests itself in two different forms of hatred and aggression. The first form is the constant and general antagonism against the Negroes, and includes all members of the race. It is expressed in the general trend of many white people to 'draw the color line'....Negroes are considered, or better, experienced emotionally, as unwelcome intruders.²⁴

Repressed sibling rivalry, he believes, lies at the basis of such a reaction, because the Negro represents the unwanted younger sibling in the unconscious of such people. Sterba shows how the unconscious motivation for the second form of hatred and aggression against Negroes, that of race riots and lynchings, lies in the repressed hostility toward the father which is betrayed by the fact that it is directed against Negro males only.

Another significant point made by Sterba is that Hunting and anti-Negro rioting (man hunting) have the same unconscious origin in patricidal impulses. Both represent

²⁴Ibid, p. 412

repetitions of father murder as it occurred among archaic tribes.

A companion article to Sterba's, although published 13 years later, was written by Rodgers.²⁵ In his paper Rodgers discusses a patient under psychoanalysis who was of upper-middle class, Southern white background. The case was interpreted as substantiation of Sterba's thesis. Rodgers reports that at the time public transportation was being desegregated in his city the patient became a violent segregationist and terminated his analysis. The reason why he became a segregationist was revealed in dream material presented prior to termination. In the dreams Rodgers demonstrated that the Negro was feared as the castrating father.

A new seriousness as well as a new approach was directed toward race relations in the late 1940's. The Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee sponsored a series of researches, the published reports of which were entitled "Studies in Prejudice."

²⁵T. C. Rodgers, "The Evolutions of an Anti-Negro Racist," Psychoanalytic Study of Society. I (1960)

Three of these studies²⁶ dealt with personality factors which predispose individuals to prejudice and tended to emphasize character traits and character structure. The most elaborate of these studies²⁷ correlated certain deeply rooted personality traits with prejudice by using a combination of research techniques. This study isolated a complex syndrome of character traits which go to make up a type of personality that seems to be peculiar to our age, and extremely prejudiced. In singling out this type of man whom they refer to as the "authoritarian personality," Adorno, et al., notes the fact that he seems to be a product of the present day. They say of him that:

In contrast to the bigot of the older style he seems to combine the ideas and skills which are typical of a highly industrialized society with irrational or anti-rational beliefs. He is at the same time enlightened and superstitious, proud to be an individualist and in constant fear of not being like all the others, jealous of his independence and inclined to submit blindly to power and authority.²⁸

The peculiar syndrome which they isolated using one of

²⁶T. W. Adorno, et al., The Authoritarian Personality, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950); Nathan Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder, (New York, Harper & Bros., 1950); B. Bettelheim and M. Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice, (New York, Harper & Bros., 1950).

²⁷Adorno, op. cit.

²⁸Ibid, p. ix of preface

their questionnaires was made up of the following traits as they listed them:

- a. Conventionalism. Rigid adherence to conventional middle-class values.
- b. Authoritarian submission. Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the in-group.
- c. Authoritarian aggression. Tendency to be on the look-out for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.
- d. Anti-intracception. Opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tender minded.
- e. Superstition and Stereotypy. The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.
- f. Power and "toughness." Preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.
- g. Destructiveness and Cynicism. Generalized hostility, vilification of the human.
- h. Projectivity. The disposition to believe wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.
- i. Sex.²⁹ Exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on."

As their study proceeded, however, other traits were uncovered and added. In the chapter which summarizes the interview results³⁰ Else Frenkel-Brunswik sets forth in synoptic fashion the pattern of personality which emerges from these interviews as distinctive of the authoritarian

²⁹ Ibid, p. 228

³⁰ Ibid, pp. 474-482

personality.

Perhaps the most significant defense mechanism at work for the authoritarian personality is that of repression. Repression tends to be very strong and he remains unaware of his unconscious impulses. Coupled with repression however, is the process of externalization or projection of his fear, weakness, passivity, sexual impulses, and aggression toward authority figures (especially parents). In this way he hides these aspects of himself and attempts to fight them outside of himself, e.g., by hating all weakness, fear, etc., in others. But this reduces the manageability of these tendencies in himself. Other features of the authoritarian pattern which accompany externalization are that the person avoids introspection and insight, has little energy for interpersonal relationships and tries to maintain very conventional ones, has little enjoyment of sensuality or passive pleasures, strives for mobility, activity, and material benefits, and has a constricted and stereotyping ego which insists on definiteness in the ways things are seen, i.e., they are black or white, right or wrong, etc.

Along with repression and externalization and their accompanying features is conventionalism. The authoritarian personality lacks genuineness. Not only does he

need to see things as right or wrong, but needs to conform to what is right. Because he feels weak, he wants to identify with what is strong. He submits to authority and tends toward a strong nationalistic outlook. He stereotypes his parents and all authorities as either all good or all bad. In this way he hides his resentment of his parents with unchecked and unrealistic admiration.

The authoritarian personality also has a power-orientation as opposed to a love-orientation to life. He lacks the ability for close relationships and sees a dangerous environment because of the mechanism of projection. He feels the need for power in order to avoid being "devoured" by others. He tends to use everything and everybody as a means to an end and this leads to fear of retaliation and unattained goals. Power and success are the only measures of his value because he so fears passivity and dependency.

The last trait mentioned by Frenkel-Brunswik as characterizing the authoritarian personality is rigidity. He tends to make a superficial adjustment to life and interpersonal relationships which is interspersed with some measure of psychotic mechanisms. Mechanisms such as splitting, projection, introjection, and repression are

among the earliest defense mechanisms.³¹ When one continues to use such mechanisms in adult life, they appear very regressive. And the more such mechanisms are used, the more alike individuals become in their personalities.³² They begin to fit into a type that can be characterized by certain traits such as those delineated by these researchers.

Another of the "Studies in Prejudice" was done by Bettelheim and Janowitz and entitled Dynamics of Prejudice.³³ They made a similar intensive study of 150 veterans in Chicago to determine the relationship of their anxieties about adjustment to ethnic intolerance. Unlike the study of the Authoritarian Personality, this study did not attempt to isolate character traits. Prejudice was seen to be an attempt to protect one's individuality and the study focused on ego-control and social control. They held that prejudice is the resultant of the individual's struggle to maintain his psychic balance. The pressure of the superego and the id on the functioning of the ego (which attempts to maintain the balance) leads to projection by the ego of those tendencies and desires within the

³¹Melanie Klein, Envy and Gratitude, (New York:Basic Books, 1957)

³²Adorno, Op. Cit., p. 1

³³Bettelheim, Op. Cit.

individual (id representations) which are unacceptable to the superego. onto a minority.

This study follows the scapegoat theory of prejudice, but instead of investigating unconscious inner processes stemming from childhood it focuses on ego and social control. As they say in evaluation of their study:

To go into any greater detail about inner dynamic processes such as, for example, specific infantile experiences that may predispose one person to take recourse to prejudice to master anxiety, while another infantile experience may preclude such recourse for another person, seemed then outside our research interests.... It was a deliberate choice to select a methodology that avoided investigation of inner processes and interpretations which did not also have social implications.³⁴

Their study was an attempt to integrate psychoanalytic theory and sociological research.

The third mentioned study in this series was Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder by Ackerman and Jahoda.³⁵ It also is a study which combines the perspective of psychoanalysis and social psychology. They study the complex and continuous interaction between intrapsychic and

³⁴B. Bettelheim and N. Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice (London: Collier, 1964), p. 55.

³⁵Ackerman, Op. Cit.

environmental forces as each affects the development of the other.³⁶ Based on the case histories of persons in psychoanalysis, this study examines as motivating factors in prejudice the impact of external factors, the emotional predispositions, and how prejudice serves the ego's defense mechanisms. Unlike the study by Bettelheim and Janowitz,³⁷ they did focus more upon internal processes than upon the external forces.

These "Studies in Prejudice" were a significant contribution to an understanding of the psychodynamics of prejudice. The focus was upon clinically observable traits, predispositions, and defenses, and upon the social context in which these individuals live. Many of the earlier theoretical propositions were confirmed with an abundance of material. Ten years after the publication of these studies their conclusions were still widely accepted. In a report prepared for UNESCO in 1960 Marie Jahoda remarked:

Prejudice seems to be embodied in a particular type of personality, the authoritarian personality. This type bears the marks of an unre-

³⁶Ibid, p. 9

³⁷B. Bettelheim, Social Change and Prejudice.

solved conflict about one's identity, to an extraordinary extent.³⁸

A year after the "Studies in Prejudice" appeared Lowenstein's psychoanalytic study of the historical and cultural roots of anti-semitism was published.³⁹ His was not a clinical research in the sense that the "Studies in Prejudice" were. He did use observations of his own patients in analysis and included the various psychoanalytic theories in explaining the phenomena. But his emphasis was on the understanding of the historical and cultural roots of prejudice. He propounded a theory as the basis for his interpretation of anti-semitism that the Christians and Jews form a "Cultural Pair."⁴⁰ He says that the peculiar role of the Jew in Christian Society is what has predestined him to be the victim of cruelty throughout history.⁴¹

Another significant article of the unconscious roots of prejudice appeared in 1957, entitled "A Considera-

³⁸M. Jahoda, Race Relations and Mental Health, (Paris: UNESCO, 1960), -. 28.

³⁹Rudolph Lowenstein, Christians and Jews, (New York: International Universities Press, 1951).

⁴⁰Ibid, p. 13

⁴¹Ibid., p. 185

tion of the Etiology of Prejudice."⁴² This author also describes how the cause for prejudice should be looked for not only in the relationship between the prejudiced person and the object of his prejudice, but mainly in an unsuspected rivalrous relationship to a third party such as father or sibling. He says that psychoanalytic authors agree that the unresolved oedipal situation is at the root of prejudice. But his contribution is the stress he places on the utilization of prejudice by the ego.⁴³ He believes that in creating prejudice the ego makes use of both incorporation and projection as psychic mechanisms, but unites them into a new mechanism called "incorprojection." With incorprojection the ego can remain unaffected by conflicts. This is done by simultaneously dropping one object-relationship and acquiring another, or by simultaneously taking one object in and extruding another.

He thinks that because prejudice is an ego-defense directed against aggressive impulses when the ego is unable to tolerate the guilt and self-criticism generated

⁴²B. Bird, "A Consideration of the Etiology of Prejudice," Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association, V (1957), 493 ff.

⁴³Ibid.

by them, people without a sense of inferiority and rivalry cannot be prejudiced. The implication of this interpretation of prejudice is that prejudice is of certain value in the formation of the ego and superego, and that in a minor form it is ubiquitous.

This emphasis on the positive functions of prejudice was new. It seems to be related to the increasing influence in psychoanalytic circles of ego psychology. Beginning with Hartmann's paper of 1950⁴⁴ and his addition of 1952⁴⁵ the ego-strengthening quality of regression was recognized. Of special significance was the concept "regression in the service of the ego."⁴⁶ When this concept is applied to prejudice, prejudice can be interpreted as an admitted regression, but one which permits the ego to re-establish control over the rest of the instinctual impulses. Thus, prejudice is no longer seen as necessarily

⁴⁴Heinz Hartmann, "Comments on the Psychoanalytic Theory of the Ego," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, V (1950), 74-96.

⁴⁵Heinz Hartmann, "The Mutual Influences in the Development of the Ego and Id," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, VII (1952), 9-30.

⁴⁶Kris' introduction to H. Hartmann, "The Mutual Influences in the Development of the Ego and Id," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, VII, (1952).

a defensive, destructive, or disintegrating phenomenon. It may also be a constructive and integrative force in the personality.

This is the contention of Bettelheim and Janowitz in their new study of 1964.⁴⁷ In re-evaluating their Dynamics of Prejudice⁴⁸ they admit that they had seen prejudice to be a disintegrating force in the personality. They saw prejudice as a defensive maneuver to deal with anxiety. But they now appreciate and insist on the ego-strengthening quality of prejudice.⁴⁹ They do qualify this idea, however, by saying that prejudice is ego strengthening only if one's particular prejudice is accepted or condoned by society, and admitting that if social norms are not in favor of it the prejudice would further aggravate one's difficulties.

Bettelheim and Janowitz also emphasize that prejudice helps to secure an individual's identity. They quote

⁴⁷Bettelheim, Social Change and Prejudice.

⁴⁸Bettelheim, Dynamics of Prejudice.

⁴⁹Bettelheim, Social Change and Prejudice, p. 53.

Erikson's discussion of adolescent intolerance and its identity function:

In general it is primarily the inability to settle on an occupational identity which disturbs young people. To keep themselves together they temporarily overidentify, to the point of apparent complete loss of identity, with the heroes of cliques and crowds. On the other hand, they become remarkably clannish, intolerant, and cruel in their exclusion of others who are 'different,' in skin, color, or cultural background, in tastes and gifts, and often in entirely petty aspects of dress and gesture arbitrarily selected as the signs of an in-grouper or out-grouper. It is important to understand (which does not mean condone or participate in) such intolerance as the necessary defense against a sense of identity diffusion....⁵⁰

This emphasis on ego-psychology in its relevance to understanding prejudice is however, still undeveloped. Its implications for prejudice and other social issues remain to be spelled out. At present the psychoanalytic study of prejudice still focuses on unconscious factors and is only gradually appreciating the emerging contribution of psychoanalytic ego-psychology.

In 1951 Kardiner and Oversey published the results of their study in depth of 25 Negroes.⁵¹ This study, al-

⁵⁰Erik H. Erikson, "Identity and the Life Cycle," Psychological Issues, I (1959), 18-165.

⁵¹Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression, (New York: Meridian Books, 1962)

though not about prejudice, per se, investigated the personality of the Negro American. It followed the style of earlier studies on the personality of the prejudiced white person and laid bare some of the unconscious roots of prejudice in the Negro, even though this prejudice is directed against himself.⁵² It concludes that such attributes of personality as self-hatred are accounted for by the limitations in social opportunities.⁵³ It treats the white man's social environment and goals as the backdrop against which to view Negro adaptation, and exposes the burden of anxiety, self-hatred, sex maladjustment, aggression, frustration, docility, and fear borne by the Negro

The last psychoanalytic study of the unconscious roots of prejudice to be reviewed here is that by James Hamilton.⁵⁴ Hamilton stresses the anal components involved in the white hostility and aggression toward the Negro. This article is the first and only in the psychoanalytic literature to deal with this aspect of prejudice. He ac-

⁵²Ibid, p. 315

⁵³Ibid, p. 317

⁵⁴James Hamilton, "Some Dynamics of Anti-Negro Prejudice," Psychoanalytic Review, LIII, 1, (Spring 1966), 5-16.

cepts the scapegoat hypotheses as interpreted by Sterba⁵⁵ but turns the focus away from phallic components. He pays particular attention to issues of integrated housing and demonstrates how this issue stirs up many repressed anal wishes and fears. He points out the symbolic meaning of the Negro to the white man on an anal level. Because the Negro is brown he is unconsciously equated with feces and evil, and he thereby stirs up strong infantile desires to play with feces in the white man. But because such desires are taboo, the white man defends himself against them by sublimation--as playing with or being preoccupied with money and material possessions--or reaction-formations, such as disgust with the Negro's smell, obsessive cleanliness, and efforts to keep Negroes out of the neighborhood. This report by Hamilton is well substantiated and is utilized in Chapter VIII of this study.

This concludes the review of the psychoanalytic literature on the unconscious roots of prejudice. The significant articles and researches have been included. A few have been excluded on the basis that they were very brief and simply repeated other authors reviewed here. Even the authors included have written other material on

⁵⁵ Sterba, Op. Cit.

prejudice, but their latest formulations are included.

The next section of this study begins with the psychoanalytic theory of cognitive development. That section has as its purpose to clarify the conceptual framework by which the unconscious roots of prejudice is understood in this study.

CHAPTER III

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

In order to understand the origin and nature of symbolic thinking, the substrata of the mind itself must be laid bare. The symbolic thinking is a function of the unconscious layers of the mind. The processes which work together to constitute what is meant by symbolic thinking are among the most primitive mechanisms of the mind. They arise as part of and also constitute the earliest functioning of the mind.

There is as yet no way of knowing exactly what happens in the mind of the infant. Such operations as can be hypothesized as existing are deduced from the observed behavior of infants, the phantasies, behavior, and thinking processes of children 2-3/4 and older under analysis, and the mental operations of adults who have been psychoanalysed.

The various hypotheses about the primitive operations of the mind are correlated and systematized by Rapaport¹ into a psychoanalytic theory of the development

¹David Rapaport, Organization and Pathology of Thought. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 689 ff.

of the mind. Although it is tentative and unproven in the sense that it is not known what actually happens in the infant's mind, the theory presented by Rapaport does correlate with what has been proven concerning the mental functioning of adults and very young children. Because the basic processes of the mind and so of symbolic thinking are perhaps most easily understood within the context of their origin, the theory presented by Rapaport is followed here in laying bare the substrata of the mind. Other aspects of certain of these processes, discussed by Fenichel² are also included.

The focus on the origin of these processes is not intended to imply that later mental development due to biological maturation and social influences are without effect. The complicating effects of such later developments are precisely why the operation of these processes in the infantile mind are relatively simple to explain. A much less complex theory is required to explain the origin of these operations in the infantile mind than is required to understand the total functioning of the adult mind. That they are still operative in the adult mind, however, has been established by numerous psychoanalytic clinical

²Otto Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis, (New York: Norton, 1945)

cases.³

Psychoanalytic theory assumes that thought develops out of and is based upon certain drives within the human organism.⁴ These drives are experienced as an irritation by the infant, and the processes which make up the reaction to this irritation represent the earliest operations of the mind. Fenichel⁵ supports this concept when he says:

Mental functions should be approached from the same angle as the function of the nervous system in general. They are manifestations of the same basic function of the living organism--irritability.

The biological structure of the organism and external stimuli are the basic determinants of human activity (including thought processes). It is their meeting in the infant that issues in a crisis. The external stimuli are painful to the infant and elicit activity on his part. Included in earliest activity are primitive thought processes. Psychoanalytic studies of these

³See those edited by Rapaport, Op. Cit..

⁴Ibid, 690.

⁵Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 11.

thought processes⁶ have classified them as products of primary Process Thinking under the aegis of the Pleasure Principle and of Secondary Process Thinking under the aegis of the Reality Principle. What follows here is the essence of what Rapaport presents as the psychoanalytic theory of the development of these processes.

I. THE PLEASURE PRINCIPLE AND PRIMARY PROCESS THINKING

Some sort of energy expressed in drives gives particularity to the life of the organism. So long as the energy is distributed in a balanced way, the organism is in a quiescent state and no drives arise. It is when the distribution of energy is disrupted that drives do arise. This can be illustrated in the behavior of the infant. As an unborn child the infant is in a somewhat quiescent state because most of his needs are automatically met. But when he is once out of the womb, needs are no longer automatically met, the organism is no longer in a balanced state, and drives do arise.

The drives are experienced by the individual as tension or restlessness. According to Fenichel,⁷ the infant

⁶See the earliest by Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams (New York: Science Editions, 1961) VII.

⁷Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 34.

probably finds this excitation "highly unpleasant" and this painful tension "evokes the earliest mental tendency, namely, the tendency to get rid of the state of tension." When the tension is reduced, the infant falls asleep only to be reawakened when he experiences other disturbances in his equilibria (lack of food, water, warmth, etc.). This tendency to reestablish a balanced distribution of energy, or to immediately reduce the tension and thereby achieve gratification is what Freud has called the "Pleasure" or "Constancy" principle.

For the immediate discharge of tension, however, the infant is dependent upon the outside world, especially his mother. And if every need could be satisfied immediately, it is probable that the organism would never develop a concept of reality--that the mind as we know it would never develop. In order for the mind to develop there must be delays in gratification.

If gratification is delayed, either because the object which satisfied is lacking or because of innate psychic structures which prevent satisfaction (such as excessive envy or greed, or the tension tolerance threshold being too low), gratification is sought by the infant by producing an hallucinatory image of the object which reduces the tension, or an image of the gratification ex-

perience itself.⁸ This second mental tendency is known as wish fulfillment. The delay thus becomes the cradle of conscious experience. And here begins the distinction between conscious and unconscious. The unconscious is that in the mind that does not arise to consciousness.

Just as the primary model of behavior or action is the immediate reduction of tension in order to reestablish equilibrium within the organism,⁹ so the primary model of thinking is to produce an hallucinatory image of the object or of the experience which reduces the tension. Thus, phantasies are indicators of drive tension, and when hallucinatory, they discharge a fraction of drive-tension like a safety valve. Although wishfulfilling hallucination is a far cry from reality, it is the beginning or preparatory phase of thinking and a process that persists on both the unconscious and conscious levels. Freud has called it the "Primary Process." Because it is in Primary Process Thinking that symbols and phantasies play such an important role, a more extensive analysis of it shall be presented later. The following discussion of the development of the "Secondary Process" gives a greater understanding of the dynamics of this kind of symbolic thinking.

⁸Rapaport, Op. Cit., p. 690. ⁹Ibid, p. 689.

II. THE REALITY PRINCIPLE AND SECONDARY PROCESS THINKING

That an hallucinatory image of the gratifying object can be produced implies that there are certain memory traces of the object and of the gratifying experience laid down in the mind of the infant. These memory traces are activated into consciousness by the drive-tension. Thus, phantasies are drive-cathected memory traces and their primary form is the hallucinatory image.¹⁰

The nature of these phantasies--being in the form of hallucinatory images and for the purpose of discharging tension--is determined by the fact that the memory traces are organized around drives of which they are representations. As representations of drives, memory traces carry drive-cathexes. A representation is raised to hallucinatory vividness either by the displacement of the drive cathexes of other representations onto it, or by several representations being condensed into one.¹¹ Such mechanisms as displacement and condensation were discovered by Freud to be at work in the formation of dreams, which are a prime example of primary process thinking.¹²

¹⁰Ibid., p. 693

¹¹Ibid., p. 693-4

¹²Rapaport, Op. Cit., Ch. VII

Many representations accumulate around a drive as the infant experiences more and more delays in tension reduction. Drives also split up into partial drives and single phantasies come to represent several drives and/or partial drives. This frees the representation from dependence upon any single drive for cathexis, giving it greater access to consciousness, and the memories are no longer simply organized around specific drives. Another organization of memories ensues based upon an "experiential connection system of progressively more differentiated and discrete ideas."¹³ The mechanisms of condensation and displacement are brought under strict control. These ideas are meaningfully connected in terms of experience (limiting the mechanism of condensation), and only small amounts of cathexis can be displaced from one idea to another (limiting the displacement).

This conceptual organization of memories, where there is an experientially meaningful connection of ideas, enables the infant either to find the need-satisfying object in reality or to change reality so as to find it. It is now no longer necessary (in every instance) for the infant to hallucinate in order to reduce the tension when

¹³Rapaport, Op. Cit., p. 696

there is a delay in the presentation of the satisfying object. He is now able to find the object itself in reality. Since condensation and displacement are restricted, the cathected memory traces are experienced as memories instead of hallucinatory images and the major drive-cathexes remain unused and ready either to find the need-satisfying object or to alter reality.

The conceptual organization of memories does not replace the drive-organization of memories, but is simply superimposed.¹⁴ It represents a detour prescribed by the "Reality Principle." The "Pleasure Principle," through wishfulfilling hallucination, still remains effective, but permits ordered or goal-directed thinking (the "Secondary-- Process") to be established in relation to reality.

III. REPRESSION

Established together with the "secondary process" is another process which is essential to the development of the mind.¹⁵ This is repression--a part of the censorship system which controls all drives. Repression becomes necessary because at this early stage the discharge of the drives through ideation and affect charge (the latter also

¹⁴Ibid., p. 697.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 691-698

functions as a representation and as a safety valve for the drives) is not sufficient. Before the processes of ideation and affect charge were developed, the two primal mechanisms of the organism to cope with painful excitation represented by the drives were either to erect a stimulus barrier or to withdraw. Repression is a return to and is based upon withdrawal. In repression the ideational representation of the drive is denied access to consciousness. The drive cathexis is no longer sufficient to bring an idea to consciousness because a counter-cathexis is directed against the drive cathexis. The counter-cathexis is based upon some psychic structural limitation which acts as an initial barrier, but derives its energy charge from the drives which it represses. This process is analogous to a sand bar in a river which slows the flow of water, but sand collects from the flowing water and helps to slow the river even more.

Repression is a way of controlling drives when discharge of them through ideation and affect charge is not sufficient. But a distinction must be made between repressed ideation and repressed affect charge. They may have different fates. When ideation is repressed, affect charge may then be the safety valve as in hysterics. And when affect charge is repressed, ideation may be the safety

valve as in intellectualization.

Without repression there would be no psyche--no mental development--because repression is a counter-force to simple forces of discharge. Without such counter-forces as repression, there would be only reflexes.

Repression resists the discharge of intense forces and keeps them in the unconscious. Unconscious material under such high pressure has discharge as its single aim and is directed by the "Primary Process," i.e., it does not respect the demands of reality, time, order, or logic. The mechanisms of condensation and displacement attempt to find discharge for it. For instance, in seeking discharge such repressed material tends to produce derivatives which are less objectionable ideas that are connected by association to the repressed ideas. Displacement and condensation transfer the cathexis onto these other ideas for discharge. Although "Primary Process" thinking remains effective in the realm of the unconscious, it gradually becomes supplanted by the "Secondary Process" in more differentiated parts of the mind as was described above.

Repression is a tool for coping with internal impulses. But the relationship with the external world requires other mechanisms for coping with it. The development of object-relationships and the mechanisms for coping

with them, especially with the mother as an object, is essential to the infant's psychic growth.

IV. OBJECT RELATIONSHIPS

An object-relationship of a primitive kind occurs when the needed object is absent and the infant hallucinates its image. He longs for the object to relieve his tension. The awareness of objects and a conscious relationship to them comes from a longing which leads to hallucination of an internal object. The object is hallucinated, however, only in order to relieve the tension and it is soon dismissed. As Fenichel¹⁶ says: "The first acceptance of reality is only an intermediary step on the road to getting rid of it."

When the infant's every need was met, and he was unable to distinguish himself from the external world, he came to feel omnipotent. But when he experiences excitation which cannot be mastered, this omnipotence withers. He begins to recognize his dependence upon external objects.

The first relationship to objects is characterized by two reactions: imitation and introjection.¹⁷ Both imitation and introjection of the needed objects are necessary

¹⁶Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 35. ¹⁷Ibid, pp. 36-39.

for perception, and it is perception that is the basis for the mastery of stimuli. Imitation is basic to perception because perception involves the process of first changing one's body through the influence of the perceived object, and then taking cognizance of this bodily change.¹⁸ In a like way introjection is the basis for perception. Hunger compels the recognition of the outside world, and the introjection of objects is the primary model for relieving their tension and so of perception. According to Fenichel: "taking-into-the-mouth or spitting-out is the basis for all perception...." and "The first reality is what one can swallow."¹⁹ Both imitation and introjection are closely linked together and constitute what is meant by "Primary Identification."

As the infant gradually learns to differentiate between himself and the external world through primary iden-

¹⁸Ibid, p. 36. See also Rene Spitz, The First Year of Life, (New York: International Universities Press, 1951), 55-61. He cites the work of von Senden, whose investigations of the beginnings and development of visual perception in individuals, who had been born blind because of congenital cataract and whose cataract had been removed at a later age, confirms this point about perception.

¹⁹Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 37.

tification, he thereby loses his feeling of omnipotence and magic. But he tries to compensate himself for the loss by introjecting parts of the external world, especially the adults who have become omnipotent for him, and by projecting unpleasant sensations, including novel and puzzling emergents, into the external world (when manageable they can be retained by reintroduction). This introjection and projection, although they are the same process involved in primary identification, are used here at a different level. Perception is here assumed. Projection has as its model the earlier attempt to hallucinate away pain, and it also helps the infant to regain the narcissistic feelings of well-being and oneness with the world by separating him from the unwanted sensations.

Introjection and projection, however, bring about animistic ways of thinking in the infant. When the infant projects his own hostile phantasies--like devouring his environment--onto the external world, he perceives this environment as intending him harm. He develops fantastic anxieties of his own physical destruction.

An analysis of the mechanisms of introjection and projection shall be given in more detail in the next chapter. For now it is sufficient to say that they represent a stage beyond hallucinatory wish fulfillment, but still

under the direction of the pleasure principle and are the mechanisms to which a person returns whenever the subsequent types of active mastery directed by the reality principle fail.

V. LOGICAL THINKING

The subsequent development of the secondary process is finalized with the individual's ability to tie ideas together with words. Speech affords greater discriminations and more adequate coping with reality. It consolidates a consciousness that is distinctly different from the consciousness without words which was the undifferentiated predecessor of thinking and made up of hallucinatory images and affects.

The processes of condensation, displacement, introjection, projection, and primary identification and their effects, the parts being taken as wholes, similarities taken as identities, persecutory anxiety, and feelings of omnipotence and magic are supplanted very gradually as greater discriminations in reality are made. The use of words in speech affords more precise discriminations and also allows the person to anticipate future happenings in imagination and to plan for them in connection with reality.

The prelogical emotional thinking is overcome in this way, but it is not eliminated. It remains as a substitutive pattern of thinking when the secondary process fails as in states of exhaustion, sleep, intoxication, or psychosis. Even in normal and healthy persons the initial phases through which any thought passes have more similarity with dream thinking than with logic. As Fenichel says:

It (prelogical emotional thinking) is less fitted for objective judgement as to what is going to happen because it is relatively unorganized, tolerates and condenses contradictions, and is ruled by emotions and hence full of wishful or fearful misconceptions. This thinking according to the primary process seems to be directed only by the striving for discharge and is remote from any logic. But it is thinking nevertheless, because it consists of imaginations according to which later actions are performed, and it is done with reduced energy. It is carried out more through pictorial, concrete images, whereas the secondary process is based more on words.²⁰

The "pictorial concrete images" which Fenichel mentions are the symbols of primary process thinking. The use of symbols is a return to primal prelogical thinking where distortions of what is perceived are intended in order to avoid pain. For instance, symbolic thinking may hide an objectionable unconscious idea by an acceptable conscious one, e.g., a snake for a penis if the idea of

²⁰Ibid, p. 47.

the penis is objectionable or unmanageable by reason of complexity. Having described the psychoanalytic theory of cognitive development, symbolic thinking may now be discussed directly.

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CHAPTER IV

SYMBOLIC THINKING

Silberer¹ has shown that symbolic thinking arises out of "an apperceptive insufficiency of the ego," i.e., out of the breakdown of the secondary process. Logical thinking fails when the anxiety is too great for the individual to cope with at any one point. A sufficient quantity of anxiety is a prerequisite for symbol-formation and phantasy. The incorporation and imitation of objects leads to the representation of them symbolically. But this is possible only if parts may be represented by wholes (condensation), and if similar objects may be equated (displacement).

Phantasies pervade the mental life from the beginning, and are the vehicle for experiencing of the world mentally. As Susan Isaacs puts it:

Phantasy is (in the first instance) the mental corollary, the psychic representative of instinct. There is no impulse, no instinctual urge or response which is not experienced as unconscious phantasy.... A phantasy represents the particular content of the urges, of feel-

¹David Rapaport, Organization and Pathology of Thought, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), pp. 195-234.

ings (for example, wishes, fears, anxieties, triumphs, love₂ or sorrow) dominating the mind at the moment.²

There is a powerful drive to attach these phantasies to various objects. In order to provide outlets for an individual's urges or feelings, such objects are represented by object-representation. When the phantasies are attached to these representations the object-representations become symbols of infant's psychic life. The infant's loves, hates, conflicts, and satisfactions are used in creating these symbols. They are invested with the infant's urges and feelings. At first the symbols represent part objects (breast, penis), and only later whole objects (people), and through the processes of introjection and projection come to constitute his internal and external worlds.

It is in the inner world of the infant then that symbolic thinking is developed, and it is symbolic thinking which further develops that inner world. While displacement and condensation are used to build up these symbols, the processes of introjection, identification, splitting, and projection are used to develop symbolic thinking. Significant study of these processes at work in object-

²Melanie Klein, et al., Developments in Psychoanalysis, (London: Hogarth Press, 1952).

in object-relationships in earliest infant development has been made by Melanie Klein and her colleagues.³ It is important to set forth this school intact and in its own terms because of its importance for understanding symbolic thinking.

One of Klein's colleagues, R. E. Money-Kyrle,⁴ believes that there are certain "innate initial structures" in the brain at birth, determined by their survival-enhancing value, which enable the infant to perceive certain patterns of sensations or "gestalten" such as the breast. These gestalten are also called "primary symbols" and include, in addition to the round breast symbol, oblong phallic ones, hollow vaginal ones, and situations of combination or intercourse--each having the gestalt of a biologically vital object or situation and arousing specific innate impulses and emotions. These innate gestalten determine the extent of the infant's perception. Probably at first, all the infant perceives are primary breast symbols because of their importance to his survival. Normal

³See especially Melanie Klein, Envy and Gratitude, (New York: Basic Books, 1957).

⁴R. E. Money-Kyrle, Man's Picture of His World, (New York: International Universities Press, 1961)

anxiety, however, will cause him to extend his perception. When the good and bad pictures of the breast are confused, which inevitably happens, he extends his perception to similar objects which can act as substitutes. He begins to notice similarities and differences between his perceptions and increases the number of objects he can distinctly perceive.

Money-Kyrle believes that this development is a gradual process. However, he distinguishes between three main stages of development of the mind: "subjective monism," "naive realism," and the "dualism of common sense," the nature of which shall be discussed presently. Money-Kyrle analyzes the intellectual development of the child. His focus is not on the affective or conative aspects of the mind, but rather on the cognitive element, which he believes is much more plastic in its development, varying greatly according to the individual's experience. Before presenting Money-Kyrle's views, however, Melanie Klein's⁵ views regarding the emotional development of the child is essential because Money-Kyrle has extended Klein's approach.

Again it must be stressed that one can only theorize regarding the functioning of the infant's mind. Klein's

⁵Klein, Envy and Gratitude.

theories are more than simple guesses, however, based as they are on the phantasy and thinking processes of 2 3/4 year olds. Klein, however, does appear to go beyond her evidence and creates what might be conceptualized as a myth of infantile ego activity in the first few months after birth. Both Rene Spitz, who studied thousands of infants,⁶ and Fenichel, who summarizes psychoanalytic opinion,⁷ protest that such early ego activities as Klein describes are impossible in the young infant. But her descriptions are invaluable for understanding the processes involved in symbolic thinking because they obviously manifest themselves by 2 3/4 and on into adulthood. It is for that reason that her views are presented here.

Klein is in agreement with Money-Kyrle. The child is an intensely "emboided" person, and Klein's material shows him to be emotionally preoccupied with "emboided" persons. She has an abundance of material which includes:

phantasies in which her child patients fought with or were persecuted by soldiers, burglars and robbers, fierce wild animals, giants,

⁶Rene Spitz, The First Year of Life, (New York: International Universities Press, 1965).

⁷Otto Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis, (New York: Norton, 1945).

bizarre creatures, and symbolic parent-figures of many kinds. The weapons and means of combat and destruction included sucking, biting, eating, cooking and devouring, emptying, wetting, dirtying, stealing body contents and cutting off organs; penetrating, stabbing and so on.

His (the child's) phantasies are all of bodies, attacks on bodies, getting something out of one body and into another body with fears of retaliatory reversals of this procedure, of robbing and injuring bodies and healing and repairing the damage done to them.⁸

In the thinking of Melanie Klein, the relation of the infant to the mother, and specifically to the breast, is of primary and fundamental importance in the first few months after birth. The infant's enjoyment of the breast and frustration in relation to it, shape his basic feelings of gratitude and envy.⁹ The process in which these feelings arise and by which the personality is formed is complicated, however, by many factors. The ideal development is complex, but its impairment by negative impulses and feelings complicates it in many directions.

Klein believes that the trauma of birth, being expelled from the womb, enforces the innate destructive rage

⁸ Harry Guntrip, Personality Structure and Human Interaction, (New York: International Universities Press, 1961), p. 201.

⁹ Klein, Envy and Gratitude, p. 3.

of the infant,¹⁰ which is directed at both the self and the world since the ego has made no distinction between them yet. In order to avoid the threat of annihilation, the infant looks for strength in his first object-relation --the breast.¹¹ He finds the breast to be the source of nourishment and, therefore, of life. He introjects the breast and it forms the core of his ego.¹² It is not just a physical object for him. His phantasies and instinctual needs enrich the breast so that it becomes for him the foundation for hope, trust, and belief in goodness. It becomes the symbol of maternal goodness, inexhaustible patience and generosity, and creativity.

But the birth trauma stirs up a strong anxiety of rage in the infant which extends to incorporate his other unpleasant experiences. Even the best and most nourishing breast could not replace the security of the womb.¹³ Further frustration is inevitable. The infant becomes enraged at the breast. He envies it because he feels that the gratification of which he was deprived has been kept for itself by the breast that frustrated him, even though he has been adequately fed.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 4.

¹¹Ibid, p. 3.

¹²Ibid, p. 5.

¹³Ibid, p. 4.

The envy itself points to the early operations of the ego. This ego is rudimentary and vague, but it functions to deflect outwards the threat of annihilation and death. The prime ego activity is to project its rage onto the breast--his only object.¹⁴ The breast is seen as mean and grudging. The initial anxiety is, therefore, experienced as persecutory anxiety. The breast is perceived as intending the infant harm. But when he projects such rage his envy will no longer permit the infant to enjoy the breast. Therefore, he splits his image of the breast into the "good" breast and the "bad" breast. By splitting them he is able to maintain a satisfying relationship to the "good" breast. His destructive impulses being directed at the "bad" breast cannot destroy the "good" breast and he can keep it internalized and enjoy it. The destructive impulses are directed at the externalized "bad" breast which becomes exceedingly bad. The projection of his destructive impulses onto the "bad" breast, however, also represents the splitting of the self into the self and the world. The "bad" breast is disowned as an external object, while the "good" breast is retained as a present part of the self. By this fragmenting activity the ego disperses the de-

¹⁴Ibid. This and the following taken from Ch. 3.

structive impulses and anxieties. This introjecting, projecting, and splitting constitute what we could call the first phase of the infant's struggle. By introjecting external objects which he encounters the infant builds up his internal world, and by splitting and projecting these objects he builds up an imagined external world that at first is perceived as evil and only later comes to more or less approximate reality. At this stage the external world is essentially evil and otherwise undifferentiated.

This is the stage which Money-Kyrle calls "subjective monism."¹⁵ He says the infant makes no distinction between reality and phantasy or sensations and memory. There are no distinctions made in either time or space. "Everything that exists exists in the present and nothing not present exists at all."¹⁶ He has no ideas which refer to anything beyond themselves. He has no language, only primary symbols. His world is much like that of the psychotic, for the psychotic partially returns to this stage.

But there are distinctions being made in this "specious present."¹⁷ The defences of this period, splitting and projection, are protecting the infant from his

¹⁵Money-Kyrle, Op. Cit., p. 64

¹⁶Ibid, p. 65

¹⁷Ibid, p. 75

envy and destructive impulses. Although they are still seen as parts of himself, the infant distinguishes between the good and the bad breast. The same splitting process takes place, however, between himself and his world. He projects his negative feelings onto the bad breast and disowns the bad breast. This is the first separate object for the infant and so the external world is seen as evil. But his world is still monistic because the bad breast may be located either inside or outside the body. And the same is true for the good breast. It is much more difficult to distinguish the good breast as an object separate from the self, however, because of the rage at the sense of there being a supreme goodness not part of the body image. If this primal envy is not overcome, the individual becomes unable to believe in anything good that can help him from the outside. But if he can overcome it, and accept the separate good object with gratitude, he has developed a sentiment which might well be called religious.¹⁸

A second phase is marked by the infant's use of idealization as a defense against his destructive impulses, envy, and persecutory anxiety. The infant builds up his image of the breast with his phantasy of its inex-

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 67.

haustibility and omnipotence. He believes that it can relieve him of all his anxiety and impulses. This is of course unrealistic, but to the degree that the infant is able to so protect himself with idealization, he is that much better able to cope with the envy which inevitably returns when his unrealistic expectations are not met. The introjecting, projecting, and splitting were not completely adequate defenses against his envious and destructive impulses, nor is idealization. By now the infant has had enough contact with the breast to build a deeply rooted relation to it through its enjoyment. Enjoyment of the good breast forms the basis for gratitude and the feeling of unity with the mother in the infant. The infant becomes devoted in love to the good breast, and this carries over into his love and trust of others and of himself. His ego is strengthened by this capacity for love and gratitude against his envy, hatred, and grievances.

It is at this stage, which Money-Kyrle calls "naive realism,"¹⁹ that the infant passes beyond "subjective monism" and that objects have a permanence of their own. The three parts of the later monistic world--the

¹⁹Ibid, p. 64.

self and the split of good and bad breast objects--were not permanent, but belonged to the specious present. Both the good and bad breasts were so vivid in the infant's imagination that they could not fade into a memory. If they do not become a memory, they do not form the basis of an expectation, and the real world of existence is constituted by one's expectations. It is only when the infant approaches the depressive position where he can accept and mourn his separation from the good breast, that the breast becomes a memory for him. At first he believes it irreparably lost, and only later as temporarily lost or absent. It assumes a permanence for him outside himself. The primary symbol (round breast symbol) which he inherited begins to stand for its reality. He has distinguished between reality and phantasy where the breast is no longer confined to the specious present.

The stage of "naive realism" in pure form would be characterized by a correct perception of external reality, but a complete absence of self-consciousness. Although it represents an approach to the depressive position, idealization, manic denial, and repression are used to cushion the shock of the depression. It is only when the infant develops the capacity to be self-conscious that he moves to the third stage of the "dualism of common sense" and

and begins to take the depressive position seriously.

When the envy returns after being warded off by the defences of the second stage, it expresses itself differently.²⁰ The breast is seen as mean and grudging, keeping all to itself and as the symbol of creativity, the breast humiliates the infant. The infant becomes greedy, wanting control over it, and yet its gift seems something unattainable to him. This enrages him and he wants to destroy it. But because he also loves the breast, this destructive impulse arouses guilt in the infant. If the guilt comes too early or is too strong, the infant cannot cope with it. But he can protect himself from it in a variety of ways. He can project the guilt onto the breast and experience it as persecutory anxiety. He may devalue the breast as not worthy of envy. He may value himself as self-sufficient and superior to the breast. Or he may take flight to others away from the breast in order to avoid the envy situation.

If the guilt is not experienced too early or as overwhelming, the infant will internalize it and devalue himself. He has then entered what Klein calls the depressive position, which constitutes the third phase. If the

²⁰Klein, Envy and Gratitude, Ch. 4.

previous introjection, projection, splitting idealization, and denial have functioned fairly successfully to project the infant in order that he could develop a deeply rooted relation to the breast, the infant is now more ready to deal with the anxiety implicit in facing his psychic reality, his inner world. Because he wishes to protect the good breast from his destructive impulses, he internalizes them. He recognizes now that the badness of the breast is mostly the projection of his own aggressiveness. This brings mental pain and guilt, but also hope and relief to work through his depressive position because this unites his self and the breast as a loved object. The stronger ego can now make reparation for the guilt. Here love mitigates hate and reassures the infant that the breast is not so vulnerable to his destructive impulses.

Jealousy is a natural outcome of and an aid to working through the depressive position. Jealousy is a way of guarding his love of the breast and of dispersing his envy and destructive impulses onto all rivals (father and siblings). In the depressive position he can work through his grief at losing the good breast as he had idealized it and his fear of the bad breast. He is able to accept a more realistic relation to his mother and to

the breast. And because his dispersed hostility is not as intense, and therefore not so greatly feared, he may even learn to love his rivals through the development of relationships with them, and thereby overcome his jealousy.

In the stage of "naive realism" the infant was capable of symbolic thought--having primary symbols to stand for the external world and its objects. This capacity was developed by the ability to mourn a lost object. But in the third stage a second order language is developed which allows the infant to observe as from the outside, the "psychic self" in relation to its objects (people). This development is made possible by the capacity to feel responsible for a loss mourned. And the ability to see oneself from the mourned objects point of view conditions the development of a dualistic world-model. It implies the capacity to tolerate the full pain of the depressive position and, therefore, to attain a more accurate picture of the outer and inner worlds. He is able to face his own thoughts, feelings, and desires and begins to think of others as having like personalities. His world is not only dualistic, but also rational. The reality principle has dominated over the pleasure principle.

Once the infant works through the depressive position he has achieved his greatest degree of integration.

The process of integration brings painful anxiety, but now he is more prepared to cope with it directly. The early primordial anxiety and the envy and destructive impulses to which it gave rise had been defended against by introjection, splitting, and projection in order that the infant could establish a secure relation to the breast. Once this was established, with the further aid of idealization and denial, the envy and destructive impulses pushed in again demanding integration. The process of development is one where the painful realization of his destructive side is constantly split off and regained by the infant until it is finally integrated in the depressive position. Once these impulses are integrated, the paranoid and schizoid mechanisms which we have been discussing--introjection, projection, splitting, etc.--can be dispensed with.

These processes, which later become obstacles to rational, goal-directed thinking, are in the first instance essential to the development of the mind. They might be compared to a scaffolding which, though at first necessary, is no longer essential once the building is completed. But unlike a scaffolding, they cannot be dispensed with. They are built into the structure.

Since symbolic thinking is basic to the development

of every person's mind and cannot be dispensed with, it is operative in every adult. Every adult constantly thinks in symbolic terms. All the processes described above are active in varying degrees in everyone, although the more irrational elements remain unconscious. One is particularly unaware of the basic pattern in one's picture of his own inner world, i.e., what one phantasies himself to be made of.

Symbolic thinking is constituted by the process of projecting the objects which were introjected in infancy onto the external world. By externalizing the unknown distortions of the inner world, most of the distortions of the outer world are brought about. As Money-Kyrle says:

"We do know that much of what is unconscious constitutes an inner world which profoundly affects our moods and so also our behavior in the world of common sense. The unconscious inner world is peopled by figures and objects from the past, as they are imagined often wrongly to have been. It is maintained by frequent repetitions of the mechanisms which first created it, current situations being unconsciously equated with past ones, and in the world dealt with as before. It contains not only persons--parents, brothers, and sisters--but also animatistic 'part-objects,' survivals from the still earlier period of infancy when the gestalten, or primary symbols we are innately predisposed to perceive and respond to had just begun to be moulded by experience."²¹

²¹Money-Kyrle, Op. Cit., p. 97.

One peoples his external world with both good and bad objects from his own inner world. Such personifications--either deified or demonized external objects--lead to manipulations of the external world and persons in it in order to achieve conformity with the projected objects. Examples of such "projective identifications" are abundant. The desire to have children or "disciples" to be replicas of one's ideal self is an example of projecting a good part of one's self which one fears he cannot defend against his destructive impulses. Likewise, the attempt to make someone else responsible for one's suicide, even to the point of provoking the other person to wanting to murder one, is an attempt to project the bad murderous wishes which one feels inadequate to master.

These projections often entail the necessity of compelling others to accept these objects in the interests of security in a phantastic inner world. Usually one can find someone suited to these projections, who have characteristics which one can exaggerate but not have to invent. Because of projections, people often cling unconsciously to the very "defects" in groups and social institutions which they are consciously trying to eliminate. Such "defects" are needed in order to project intolerable inner impulses.

Developmentally, symbolic thinking is inevitable. It is of positive value because it is essential to the development of the mind. But when there is no effort made to correct the distortions inherent in symbolic thinking these limitations become the unconscious roots of such things as mental illness, religious fanaticism, and racial prejudice.

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CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PREOCCUPATIONS

In the first chapters of this dissertation the psychoanalytic theory of the crucial role of symbolic thinking in both the development of the mind and in adult everyday behavior was explained. In this chapter the psychoanalytic theory for how the preoccupations of individuals and groups are formed will be given. It is beyond the task of this chapter to present the clinical evidence for the psychoanalytic theory of psychosexual development. The evidence on which these statements contained in this chapter rests has been established elsewhere. The authors who have given this evidence are referred to in the footnotes.

The preoccupations which are formed as part of the psychosexual development of the individual provide the substance thought about symbolically by individuals and groups. Such a study of how preoccupations develop is of central importance for understanding prejudice because the particular issues which prejudiced individuals and groups focus upon in prejudice are in part determined by these preoccupations.

According to Freud¹ the neurotic and psychotic pre-occupations and symptomatology of individuals and also the character traits of every person are first learned in early childhood and repeated in adult life in an attempt to overcome anxiety. These preoccupations are formed in early childhood in connection with the psychosexual development of the individual. For instance, Freud proved how pre-occupations with such things as compulsive orderliness, meticulous neatness and parsimony are character traits developed in connection with toilet training. Strong disgust and shame with feces and defecating cause one to form an extreme reaction against them, and the pre-occupations mentioned are the resultant traits.

The psychosexual development of the child involves the various patternings of the libido of sexual instincts around and in accordance with the needs and satisfactions of the sensitive zones of the child's body. Such regions of the body where exciting tensions are focalized and relieved by some action upon the region such as sucking or stroking, are known as erogenous zones. The three principal erogenous zones around which the libido is patterned, giving rise to preoccupations, are the mouth (oral), the

¹Sigmund Freud, Three Contributions of the Theory of Sex (New York: Dutton, 1962).

anus (anal), and the genitals (phallic). However, other parts of the body may also become excitatory centers demanding relief.

Because these zones are the first important sources of irritating excitations for the child and also yield the first important sources of pleasure, the zones themselves and the modes by which the excitation is relieved and pleasure is attained remain forever important to the individual. They become the models for relieving pain and attaining pleasure, and so of total social adaptation.² These modes and even the zones themselves are renounced or held onto to a greater or lesser degree in later life by the adult according to his ability to adapt socially in more modified or sublimated ways.

I. THE ORAL PATTERNING OF LIBIDO

A. Functional Aspects

The oral zone is the mouth or, more specifically, the mucous membrane of the lips.³ This zone is obviously

²Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, (New York: Norton, 1950).

³Karl Abraham, On Character and Libido Development, (New York: Norton, 1966), p. 36.

of crucial importance to the infant at birth. It is through its mouth that the infant receives nourishment and is thereby able to reduce the painful tension which hunger brings.

The oral zone becomes more than an instrument of survival, however. The infant's feeding experiences stimulate this zone, and it becomes the focalized seat of pain and pleasure. It is the zone through which the infant relates to the world and to himself. Sucking is the prime activity which relieves the tension of hunger and brings pleasure by stimulating the tender oral zone. Sucking for nourishment ~~shades~~ over into sucking for sensual gratification in the infant as is obvious in thumbsucking. Abraham⁴ says that, "This primitive form of obtaining pleasure is never completely abandoned by the individual but persists under all kinds of disguises during the whole of his life, and even experiences a reinforcement at certain times and in particular circumstances."

B. Mechanisms

The principal activity associated with the oral zone is incorporation. At first the incorporation is

⁴Ibid, p. 153.

achieved by sucking passively what is offered, but when teeth appear, biting and more aggressive incorporation of objects becomes dominant. In the sucking phase the infant is unable to conceive of objects. The conception of objects coincides with the development of teeth, and the infant then wants to incorporate the objects. For this reason a distinction has been made between an earlier and a later oral stage of libininal development.⁵ The earlier oral stage is marked by the absence of ambivalence in the infant. Ambivalence arises in the biting stage because the incorporation of an object destroys it and the infant can no longer relate to it even in a biting way.

In the earlier pre-ambivalent oral stage of development, the infant attempts to duplicate the sumbiotic intra-uterine state by gratifications obtained through sucking. The mother's breast or breast substitute such as the thumb relieves the tension. But frustration is inevitable, and when it persists the infant begins to employ other modes of coping with it which properly belong to later stages of libidinal development.⁶ Normally these other modes (biting, spitting out, retentiveness, and intrusiveness) act as auxiliaries to the dominant sucking mode in the first

⁵Ibid., p. 145.

⁶Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 68-69.

oral stage.⁷

The dominance of sucking in the incorporative mode, however, means more than simply taking in through the mouth. It becomes generalized to all the sensitive zones of the body surface,⁸ and the organs and skin become increasingly hungry for stimulation. The infant finds pleasure in whatever is given, such as being held, warmed, talked to, and smiled at. He "drinks in" these, too.

In the later ambivalent oral stage the biting mode matures and becomes dominant, and is also generalized. The pleasure now comes from biting on, through, and off things. There is a more aggressive approach to incorporating objects. The generalization of biting can be observed in such organs as the eyes. While at first they passively accepted impressions, they now focus, isolate, and "grasp" objects from their background and follow them. This modality is generalized into a "taking" and "holding on"⁹ in an aggressive and even sadistic way.

The sadistic element arises, according to Erikson,¹⁰ because of the painful eruption of teeth which happens in close proximity to weaning and increasing separation from

⁷Ibid., p. 69.

⁸Ibid., p. 70

⁹Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 74-75

the mother. The tension and pain caused by teeth in the previously sensuous oral cavity can now be relieved only by biting. And yet biting the breast causes the mother to withdraw it and herself. This enrages the infant with the mother, with his teeth, and with his own impotence, and arouses in him cannibalistic phantasies of a sadistic nature.

In normal development where oral eroticism is dealt with successfully, the pleasure in sucking is replaced by the pleasure in biting, and later the pleasure in sucking and biting undertake a kind of migration to anal and urethral sphincter muscles. Here are not only sensitive zones, but new pleasure is experienced in expulsion, retention, and in the objects possessed. The pleasure in sucking and biting is renounced in exchange for other pleasures.¹¹

C. Fixations, Regression, and Preoccupations

So long as sucking remains dominant in the early oral stage with the other modalities acting as auxiliaries, development is normal and the child is able to give up oral pleasures in favor of pleasures in connection

¹¹ Abraham, Op. Cit., 153

with the next stage. These other modalities remain subordinate to sucking, unless, as Erikson puts it:¹²

the mutual regulation of the zone with the providing mother is disturbed either by a loss of control in the baby or by unfunctional behavior on the part of the mother.

When such a disturbance takes place, the psychological development of the infant may be slowed or even brought to a halt. This is called a fixation. The child experiences an interruption in his relieving of tension and achievement of satisfaction, and does not give up the pleasure to be gained from this source, or insists on even greater pleasure from the next source, i.e., biting.

Fenichel¹³ points out the factors operative in such a disturbance of mutual regulation. In addition to excessive frustration, he lists excessive satisfaction, alternation between excessive frustration and excessive satisfaction, abrupt changes in excessive frustration and satisfaction, and, most frequently, "experiences of instinctual satisfaction which simultaneously gave reassurance in the face of some anxiety or aided in repressing some other

¹²Erikson, Op. Cit., 70

¹³Otto Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis, (New York: Norton, 1945), 65-6.

feared impulse."¹⁴

All of these factors can lead to fixations which have different degrees of intensity. And if the fixation is very strong, the individual regresses to it in later life when faced with anxiety or the eruption of a feared impulse. "The stronger a fixation, the more easily will a regression take place if difficulties arise."¹⁵ Fenichel states succinctly how fixation and regression operate:

... in mental development the progress to a higher level never takes place completely; instead characteristics of the earlier level persist alongside of or behind the new level to some extent. Disturbances of development may occur not only in the form of a total arresting of development but also on the form of retaining more characteristics of earlier stages than is normal. When a new development meets with difficulties, there may be backward movements in which the development recedes to earlier stages that were more successfully experienced. Fixation and regression are complementary to each other.¹⁶

However, there are different kinds of fixations. There is a fixation upon the zone and a fixation upon the mode. The zone fixation in the oral stage would be the constant attempt to achieve oral pleasure regardless of the mode used, while the mode fixation would be the con-

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 66. ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 65. ¹⁶ Ibid.

stant attempt to get or to take, whether with the oral zone or any other part of the body.

These zone or mode fixations represent the preoccupations of the individual both as a child and as an adult. Abraham¹⁷ believed that because oral satisfactions are largely permitted in later adult life, they do not have to be so greatly repressed as do anal ones, and do not need to be changed into character formation or sublimated to the same extent. The oral preoccupations tend to be more open and exercise a less compulsive influence on an individual's attitudes and behavior. He also held that most mental regressions stop at the anal stage and those which proceed to the oral stage display also anal traits.¹⁸

In his book on oral regressions, Bergler¹⁹ contends in opposition to Abraham that oral preoccupations are the basic determinants of most neurotic behavior. He points out that although Freud discovered the importance of the phallic preoccupations and the Oedipus complex first, the anal preoccupations second, and only investigated oral preoccupations briefly, the oral preoccupations are gen-

¹⁷Abraham, Op. Cit., p. 152. ¹⁸Ibid., p. 153

¹⁹Edmund Bergler, The Basic Neuroses, (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1949).

itically and clinically more important than anal and phallic preoccupations. Bergler claims that the historical accident of discovering the importance of phallic preoccupations in human motivation first led to an emphasis of this component in the psychoanalytic literature as a factor in diagnosing neuroses. But he believes that the oral stage is genetically first and most determinative of human behavior. He believes that the anal and phallic preoccupations are relatively incidental in comparison. He likens them to "rescue stations"²⁰ which provide the developing child with defenses to rescue him from the terrific oral fears. He further disagrees with Abraham's emphasis on the openness of oral preoccupations, the idea that they exercise less compulsive influence on the individual, and the kind of satisfactions desired.

Bergler believes that oral preoccupations are deeply hidden and very difficult to discern. The influence which they exercise over human behavior is well-disguised and compulsive. The understanding of Bergler's claim rests on the comprehension of his assertion that the kind of oral satisfaction desired by one orally regressed is the desire to be refused.²¹ It is masochistic in

²⁰Ibid., p. 37. ²¹Ibid., p. 4.

nature.

The milder preoccupations with the oral zone and modes as pointed out by the earlier psychoanalytic writers such as Abraham are represented by such behaviors as smoking, drinking, eating too much, going to the movies, writing editorials, becoming a politician, and attempting to incorporate such things as love, money, knowledge, power, fame and possessions.

And the stronger fixations upon the oral zone and modes lead to such character traits as greed, impatience, hostility, envy, and cynicism, or to generosity, dependency, patience, self-criticism, and saying only nice things about the others.²²

These are straightforward and logical oral preoccupations. But Bergler contends that an analysis of individuals who are troubled with oral problems reveals a neurotic elaboration of the original desire to either passively receive or to aggressively take. The neurotic elaboration converts this desire into the desire to be refused--to suffer. To explain the origin of this elaboration Bergler points to the suffering which the infant

22 Calvin Hall, A Primer of Freudian Psychology, (New York: New American Library, 1954), pp. 104-107.

feels and his helplessness to do anything about his condition. When he is hungry, he must await external aid. In order to master this suffering, because it makes him feel so vulnerable, he learns to enjoy it. He finds pleasure in suffering by believing that he is magical and omnipotent and really induces the suffering himself. In this way, the infant defends himself against the terror of being helpless and vulnerable. His defense makes him feel as if he is in control. But once he learns to find pleasure in suffering, the need to have more suffering is established. What begins as a necessary defense outlasts its usefulness and in adult life is a neurotic way of living.

A very real oral preoccupation, according to Bergler, then is the reverse of receiving or taking. It is the wish to be refused or to suffer. The wish to be misunderstood and mistreated, although it seems fantastic, is real enough as an oral preoccupation.

In the oral stage the infantile relationship with the mother is symbiotic in nature. Mother and child are one. This is the experience of the infant because he is unable to distinguish between self and world. He is fused with mother, and it is this original sense of fusion which gave pleasure and security, that the individual who

is orally preoccupied wishes and fears.

The dilemmas over whether to be dependent or independent, passive or active, to look or to exhibit, to be patient or impatient, to trust or mistrust, to be grateful or greedy, to take in knowledge or to project oneself verbally, are all preoccupations stemming from a fixation on the first oral stage. The dilemmas over whether to attack others with sarcasm or to say only nice things about them, to envy or be envied, to be hostile or to be a victim of hostility, to be pessimistic or optimistic, are all preoccupations stemming from fixation on the second oral stage.

II. THE ANAL PATTERNING OF LIBIDO

A. Functional Aspects

The anal zone is the anus and the sensitive mucous membrane of the surrounding intestinal tissue. In toilet training much emphasis is placed by parents on the child's ability to use the sphincter muscles of the anus. The child must learn not only to refrain from soiling himself and surroundings with excreta, but also to defecate and urinate at regular times.

But the warm urine and feces against the child's skin produce pleasurable sensations. Also there are

pleasurable sensations to be had in the process of retaining the fecal matter which then creates pressure on the intestinal walls and anal muscles, and in the process of evacuating the bowels which gives the child a pleasurable relief from pressure. Toilet training, because it institutes regular patterns of holding and letting go, requires that the child renounce these pleasures.

B. Mechanisms

The principal modes which are developed in relation to the anus are retention and elimination, which serve to distinguish two distinct anal stages of psychosexual development. These modes are dominant in their respective stages of development, but they, too, are supplemented by sucking, biting, and intrusiveness as auxiliary modes.

The methods which the mother uses to toilet train the child, and her own feelings about defecation, control, responsibility, cleanliness, etc., are the determining factors in whether anal preoccupations will be dominant in the child. Naturally, the child resists having his pleasurable activities interfered with. So if the mother is too strict and harsh in her insistence, the child may retaliate with defiant defecation at an irregular time. As an adult, this individual will respond to frustrating author-

ity figures by being messy, wasteful, irresponsible, extravagant, and disorderly. Or, if the child complies with the mother's harsh discipline in a submissive way, as an adult he may become meticulously neat, fastidious, frugal, compulsively orderly, be disgusted and afraid of dirt, and budget his own time and money in a strict way. He will also probably suffer from constipation.

Pleading with the child to have a bowel movement and praising him extravagantly when he does will cause the child to value the feces highly. As an adult this individual may strive to create things in order to please others as he did his mother. He becomes generous and philanthropic. But if the child places too much value upon the feces in this process of being pleaded with and praised, he may fear losing something valuable when he defecates, and feel depleted, depressed, and anxious. To prevent further loss, he will refuse to defecate. As an adult he turns out to be thrifty, parsimonious, and economical.

The refusal to eliminate the feces because of a sense of loss actually involves retention, but retention is also pleasurable in its own right. If a person becomes fixated on the pleasure involved in the gentle pressure which the fecal matter places on the walls of the rectum,

not only will he hesitate or refuse to defecate; in adult life he may develop an interest in collecting, possessing, and retaining things. Or guilt about retention may develop, in which case giving away possessions and money heedlessly, losing them, or gambling become compulsive behaviors of the individual. Such behavior is a reaction-formation against the wish to retain. But even here, pleasure can be found in spending money carelessly and throwing away possessions in an expulsive manner.

As can be seen, the anal stage of psychosexual development centers around two major struggles: that of the child's securing his autonomy,²³ and that of resolving his ambivalence towards his possessions (first of all his feces) through the new modes of retention and elimination. If all goes well, the child will develop self-control regarding holding on and letting go. He will be the master of his own world so far as he is capable. From this stage comes his curiosity and fascination with things, his desire for independence, an active orientation to life, and the budding of individuality.

²³Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 77.

C. Fixations, Regression, and Preoccupations

If the mutual regulation necessary between mother and child gives way to frustration, lasting emphasis upon who is in control of things and on retention and elimination as ways of life are established which may lead to a variety of disturbances in social adaptation. The variety of adaptations usually pass for normal except when stress exposes the underlying disturbance.

If the child is unable to secure a sense of autonomy in this stage, he may respond in any of at least three ways: rebel, submit, or develop a reaction-formation against the impulse to rebel. The rebellious response may lead to such permanent character traits as obstinacy, resentment, and the desire for revenge which could make its appearance in narcissism, the feeling of superiority, sensitiveness, carelessness, and irresponsibility. The submissive response is a capitulation by the child, and although it conforms to what the parent wants and considers "good," it may also lead to feelings of defeat, self-doubt, inferiority, and sadness which express themselves in passivity, brooding, moroseness, and inaccessibility. The reaction-formation against the impulse to defy the parent may develop, however, which focuses upon being persistent, serious, dependable, and thorough, but also slow-

mind, and pedantic. Closely related to these traits are orderliness, efficiency, and the concern over the correctness of things--whether they are right or wrong, in the right place, or logical.²⁴

With regard to resolving his ambivalence toward his possessions, there are five main types of reactions²⁵ which more or less enable the child, and later the adult, to cope with his sadism. Three of the reactions revolve around the modality of retention and two around elimination.

One reaction is to sublimate the desire to retain things in a refusal to give. The person becomes miserly, mean, grudging, tenacious, and conservative. He also fears that he will be robbed of his possessions. Freud early included this reaction in his triad of anal character traits as parsimony.²⁶

A second reaction regarding retention is a sublima-

²⁴Ernest Jones, Papers on Psychoanalysis. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 431.

²⁵See Jones for his classification. Ibid.

²⁶Sigmund Freud, "Character and Anal Eroticism," The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, (London: The Hogarth Press, 1908), IX.

tion of what appears as an oral craving--the desire to gather or collect things. This has as its basis the desire to reintroject the feces in order to reestablish the threatened narcissistic equilibrium.²⁷ The character traits which it may give rise to are an affection for objects and the desire to collect all kinds of things--including knowledge, power, beautiful objects, money, etc. Also, it gives rise to a love for children because they are considered innocent and pure. But it may give rise to such traits as avariciousness and hoarding, and homosexual attitudes.²⁸ The homosexual attitudes stem from the desire to incorporate objects through the anus. Not only is this a way to incorporate valued objects. It also brings pleasurable stimulation to the anal zone, just as enemas do for the child.

The third retentive adaptation is a reaction-formation.²⁹ Here the person tends to give away possessions and money heedlessly or to lose them through foolish investments and gambling. Such reaction-formation hides the wish to retain by its opposite. But there is pleasure

²⁷Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 67

²⁸Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 80.

²⁹Hall, Op. Cit., pp. 108-9.

to be had in this behavior in that it is spending money expensively.

The concern over elimination also leads to different adaptations. One is the opposite of parsimony mentioned above. It is a sublimated elimination which takes the form of generosity and philanthropy but may lead to extravagance. The pride the child has in his products (feces) and the wish to play with them are both basic to this reaction. He loves his possessions and wishes to smear and throw them. But because of the ambivalence the child feels for his objects, what oftens begins as an affectionate giving becomes converted into a dirty trick that is played on someone. The sadism of the teaser or the practical joker is not too well disguised, but it is mixed with tenderness. The more successful sublimations of the smearing impulse and the wish to play with one's possessions are represented by printing and painting and the more industrious cooking, building, etc.³⁰

The other reaction which the child may develop toward elimination is to hate and be disgusted with his products. This is a reaction-formation against the desire to play with them. Not only does the child have contempt

³⁰Jones, Op. Cit., pp. 432-433.

for his products, but pinches them off with his anal muscles. He becomes compulsively clean. This often leads to a morbid purity complex,³¹ to fears of being poisoned by inimical substances inside one's body,³² or to a disgust with and aversion to spoiling things--especially Mother Nature.³³ It also expresses itself in the display of noticeably little interest in one's productions and possessions, and in a concern to get rid of them as completely as possible once they are produced.³⁴

The other bodily zones also give rise to sexual impulses. They become eroticized in conjunction with the anal zone. For instance, the entire skin surface functions as an erogenous zone,³⁵ and touch, temperature, and pain may all give erotic sensations to the child. The desire to smear and play with one's excreta mentioned above is in part due to skin eroticism. Looking and exhibiting, hearing, testing, and smelling may all be eroticized also. And these eroticized senses are combined with other zones. Taste sexuality mostly coincides with oral eroticism, while smell sexuality mostly coincides with anal eroticism.³⁶

³¹Ibid., p. 434 ³²Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 79.

³³Jones, Op. Cit., p. 434 ³⁴Ibid., p. 434

³⁵Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 69. ³⁶Ibid., p. 73

The preoccupations peculiar to the anal stage of development center around authority and possessions. These include preoccupations with either defying or submitting to authority. Following the law and conventions are hotly debated by such persons. Preoccupations with working and being responsible or being irresponsible and apathetic belong here, just as do preoccupations with one's ability to control, giving in to carelessness, being messy, dirty and disorderly, or being clean and orderly. Preoccupations with odor of things and persons which stem from smell eroticism are strongly associated with these preoccupations.

Preoccupations with one's possessions and property together with fears of being robbed, cheated, and depleted stem from retentiveness, just as do preoccupations with hoarding and snaring power together with homosexual fears. Elimination as a way of life gives rise to such preoccupations as being free of any possessions, with gambling and being extravagant, with playing tricks on people, with teasing, with fears of physical attack in retaliation for one's anal-sadism, or with disgust and aversion in regard to spoiling and ruining things.

III. THE PHALLIC PATTERNING OF LIBIDO

A. Functional Aspects

At this stage the sex organs of the child take on particular significance for him (or her). The stroking and manipulation of them (masturbation) either by himself or by his mother brings sensual pleasure. This stage coincides with the child's mastery of his ability to walk and run.³⁷ He can now move independently and vigorously. He no longer is concerned with "doing" the walking, but with what he can "do with it." He now associates with his age-mates in such places as the nursery school, and notices the sexual difference between boys and girls. Not only is there a focalized interest on the genitals; there is also the urge to perform sex acts.³⁸ There is an intensification of sexual longing for both parents which brings with it many complications peculiar to this stage. Since the genitals and the experiences of this stage in boys and girls differ, the development of modalities for each will be handled separately.

³⁷Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 81.

³⁸Ibid., p. 82.

B. Mechanisms

The Male Phallic Stage - The modality which is prominent in the boy at this stage is intrusiveness. He takes pride in having a penis and enjoys the pleasure it brings. He even identifies himself with the penis³⁹ and intruding himself into situations, other person's business, or space (through locomotion) become characteristic. As Erikson says:

The intrusive mode dominating much of the behavior of this stage characterizes a variety of configurationally "similar" activities and fantasies. These include the intrusion into bodies by physical attack: the intrusion into other people's ears and minds by aggressive talking: the intrusion into space by vigorous locomotion: the intrusion into the unknown by consuming curiosity.⁴⁰

At first the boy loves his mother and identifies with his father. But when his sexual longings increase, he begins having incestuous fantasies toward his mother and becomes jealous of his father. He wishes to have his mother to himself and to get rid of his father. His pride in his penis, his desire to perform sexual acts, and his hostile fantasies toward his father bring with them much anxiety, however. He becomes afraid that these wishes

³⁹Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 77 ⁴⁰Erikson, Op. Cit., 83

will cause others to retaliate by castrating him. Other events confirm his fears such as seeing little girl's genitals which causes him to believe that she has been castrated, seeing his father's or older brother's penis which causes him to feel inferior over the size of his own, and the joking threat of other adults--who are thereby denying their own castration anxieties--to cut it off. This last threat helps to pass on the castration complex from generation to generation.⁴¹

Because of castration fears the boy represses his desires for his mother and his hostility toward his father. And depending upon the masculine and feminine components in the constitutional makeup of the boy,⁴² if he identifies more with the mother, he thereby satisfies his desires for his mother, but his longing for his father is only partially satisfied and may lead to passive feminine longing in later life. While if he identifies more with the father, he satisfies his feminine desires for the father, and at the same time shares the father's desires for the mother. "It is the relative strength and success of these identifications which determine the fate

⁴¹Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 79.

⁴²Hall, Op. Cit., p. 110.

of the boy's character and his attachments, antagonisms, and degree of masculinity and femininity in later life."⁴³

The Female Phallic Stage - The modality developed by girls at this stage is that of inception and maternal inclusion.⁴⁴ However, this is a difficult stage for the girl. She considers her clitoris to be the equivalent of the boy's penis, but it cannot sustain dreams of sexual equality. She considers it to be inferior at best, and generally feels she has been castrated.⁴⁵ She then envies the boy for his penis.

At first the girl, too, loves her mother. But she blames her mother for her castrated condition and that weakens her love. The mother also disappoints her in other ways, such as not giving her what she thinks to be enough love. So she turns in preference to her father, who has the coveted penis. But, because he does have a penis, her love for him is mixed with envy. She then becomes jealous of the mother and wishes to get rid of her so that she can have her father to herself. But because the desire to make love to the father is impossible and

⁴³Ibid., p. 110.

⁴⁴Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 84.

⁴⁵Fenichel, Op. Cit., p. 81.

also because she matures, the girl renounces these aims in favor of identifying with either one or the other of the parents. If she identifies more with the father she becomes a tomboy which satisfies her desires for her father and preserves her love for her mother through his love. But if she identifies more with her mother, she thereby compensates for her lost love relationship with her mother and it also brings her closer to her father as a feminine being.

C. Fixations, Regression, and Preoccupations

When the phallic phase persists into adult life because the original anxieties involved were not resolved, certain features display themselves in a person's behavior. Jones gives a typical example where this happens:

The type I have specially in mind is that of the man, frequently hypochondriacal, who is concerned with the size and quality of his penis (or its symbolic substitutes) and who shows only feeble impulses towards women, with in particular a notably weak, or even non-existent, impulse towards penetration; narcissism, exhibitionism (or undue modesty), masturbation, and a varying degree of homosexuality are common accompanying features. In analysis it is easily seen that all these inhibitions are repressions or defenses motivated by deep anxiety.⁴⁶

Where anxiety about intrusiveness as a mode of be-

⁴⁶Jones, Op. Cit., p. 455.

havior is not overcome, other modalities are turned to. Not only is interest in competition and penetration denied. One may become genitally passive, dependent, and receptive. This is the oral sucking mode which is a correlate to identifying with the mother. One may also adopt the oral-biting mode, which is represented by the "male bitch"⁴⁷ who homosexually seeks intercourse with men in order to snare their power. If the retentive mode becomes dominant in a man's genital behavior, it could be represented in compulsive masturbation which has autoerotic and withdrawal qualities. And forms of inhibited, incomplete, premature and flowing ejaculation indicate a fixation upon elimination as a genital mode.⁴⁸

The two most common deviations to be found among women who have not overcome the anxieties aroused in the phallic stage are regressions to more extreme forms of the sucking and biting modes. The model for female genital behavior is the oral-sucking modality which expresses itself in passive receptivity. But she may turn this into a leach-type sucking which becomes a clinging, overly dependent childishness. Or she may adopt the biting mode

⁴⁷Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 88

⁴⁸Ibid.

and become teasing, demanding, and grasping, which is expressed in the extreme in bitchiness. Emphasis upon the retentive mode in the woman is expressed in her inability to relax and let the male enter or to let him go. Emphasis upon the eliminative mode is seen in frequent orgasmic spasms during intercourse, but no adequate or satisfying climax. And emphasis upon intrusiveness in a woman expresses itself in coercive and manipulative behavior as she attempts to "wear the pants."

The kinds of preoccupations to which regression to the phallic stage leads center around competition and self-worth. Preoccupation with status, with being competent or inadequate, with being free or inhibited, with being assaulted (especially sexually), or with the inability to make decisions are all included here.

CHAPTER VI.

IDENTITY AND PREJUDICE

It is the purpose of this chapter to demonstrate how the unconscious roots of prejudice operative in the form of symbolic thinking and preoccupations contribute to the formation of both prejudice and identities and to indicate the dynamic relationship which exists between prejudice and identity. This analysis will help to clarify the thesis of this study.

Ackerman and Jahoda¹ have shown that uncertainty and confusion regarding one's identity and concept of self is one of the obvious emotional predispositions for prejudice. But more than just a predisposition, one's identity --or the lack of it--is the fulcrum for prejudice.

Bettelheim and Janowitz² have stressed the idea that prejudice can not only be used defensively by the

¹Nathan Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950) pp. 29-32.

²Bettelheim and Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice, (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1964), pp. 56-57.

individual, but also to help to secure his sense of identity. They insist that:

The search for identity, and with it the search for ego strength and personal control, might very well involve as a detour the desire to find one's identity, or to strengthen it, through prejudice. And those who fail to achieve an effective personal identity might temporarily or permanently come to use this devious method to establish some kind of identity. Prejudice then might be likened to the tumultuous solutions triggered by the adolescent's search for a personal identity, a search that often continues after the age of adolescence. As many persons seem to get stuck permanently in adolescence because they fail to establish their identity, so many get stuck in prejudice in our society where, for many persons and for particular social groups, finding one's identity is very difficult. The traditional approaches to finding one's identity, for example, through clear location within a hierarchical structure or through one's occupation or religion have become less readily available. Thus, in modern society, reasons persist which tempt a person to seek to secure this identity (or in its absence, at least, a feeling of identity) in various ways, including the devious ways of prejudice.³

In their study, Bettelheim and Janowitz quote Erikson who, in his study of identity formation, points out the danger to personality of identity diffusion, and the role intolerance plays in defending against this danger.⁴

³Ibid., p. 57.

⁴Erik H. Erikson, "Identity and the Life Cycle," Psychological Issues, I, 1 (1959), pp. 91-92.

According to Erikson the process of identity formation involves the amalgamation and integration of all the particular identity fragments belonging to an individual.⁵ These fragments can best be understood as being on a continuum between different polarities--male-female, white-black, strong-weak, etc. When certain fragments are excluded from the identity because they belong to the end of the continuum more objectionable to him the identity is interrupted and incomplete. There develops an unconscious longing to incorporate that rejected identity fragment so that the search for identity may be completed. Erikson states this very succinctly:

For the ego, in the course of its synthesizing efforts, attempts to subsume the most powerful evil and ideal prototypes (the final contestants as it were) and with them the whole existing imagery of superior and inferior, good and bad, masculine and feminine, free and slave, potent and impotent, beautiful and ugly, fast and slow, tall and small, in a simple alternative, in order to make one battle and one strategy out of a bewildering number of skirmishes.⁶

This synthesizing process is especially critical at the end of adolescence, but it is a lifelong development which neither begins nor ends with adolescence. And the whole

⁵Ibid, p. 115

⁶Ibid, p. 215.

process goes on largely unobserved by either the individual or his society because it is unconscious.⁷ To again quote Erikson,

the process of identity-formation emerges as an enslaving configuration--a configuration which is gradually established by successive ego syntheses and resyntheses throughout childhood; it is a configuration gradually integrating constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favored capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimations and consistent roles.⁸

But when such an evolving configuration does not emerge, when one does not become sure of his "point of view," he is left with an incomplete identity.⁹ This is a serious social problem, and a crisis situation for the individual. It is not simply a case where the individual is at a point in an unfinished but on-going process of identity-formation. The process of identity-formation itself has been interrupted and regression to previous and surer ground takes place. The threat of identity diffusion creates anxiety and in order to ward it off one resorts to intolerance.¹⁰

I. THE ROLE OF SYMBOLIC THINKING IN IDENTITY-FORMATION

The processes involved in symbolic thinking such as splitting, projection, introjection, idealization, conden-

⁸Ibid, p. 116. ⁹Ibid, p. 125. ¹⁰Ibid, p. 9.

sation, displacement, etc., help to establish the ideals, myths and images of a culture by which individual identities are measured. The ideals, myths and images are the product of symbolic thinking when a culture is faced with the difficult task of providing for its members ways of coping with reality which are both possible and satisfying.

What is valued is condensed into ideal prototypes. The values are personified in those persons who seem to closest approach the ideal. Here myths arise honoring such men as Daniel Boone, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln, and by these myths children are taught to strive to emulate the ideals. This is symbolic thinking working in concert with cultural development. In such fashion cultural values are passed on and identities are given birth.

Erikson¹¹ has pointed out how in establishing one's identity in America one must choose between far-reaching alternatives posed by the culture which result from extreme contrasts and abrupt changes in a rapidly growing country. These alternatives are presented by such polar-

¹¹Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, (New York: Norton, 1950), p.224ff.

ities as:

open roads of immigration and jealous islands of tradition; out-going internationalism and defiant isolationism; boisterous competition and self-effacing co-operation; and many others;....

(They include other polarities such as:)

...migratory and sedentary, individualistic and standardized,...pious and freethinking, responsible and cynical, etc.¹²

Polarities are ideological ways of dealing with life's possibilities. In order to cope with abrupt changes and extreme contrasts the alternatives are idealized and condensed as the polarities on a continuum and so become part of an ideology. One's identity must base itself on some tentative combination of such polarities.

Where one pole of a continuum is elaborated and emphasized at the expense of the other, as happens in certain persons, groups, and regions, it leads to incomplete identities. Examples of such emphasis are WASP (the ideal image made up of being white, anglo-saxon, and protestant), the Boy Scout (about whose virtues jokes are made), and the Southern Gentleman (defined by devotion to a certain way of life). Such emphasis on one pole, however, contains "an inner defense against the always im-

¹²Ibid, p. 244-5.

plied, deeply feared, or secretly hoped for opposite extreme."¹³ In a complete or whole identity the extremes represented by the polarities must somehow be integrated. Since all individuals are mixtures of what is represented by the polarities, each must achieve his own internal integration of these opposities. Only when what is split off and kept apart ideologically in the ideals and images of the polarities is brought together to form a synthesis is a completed identity possible.

II. THE ROLE OF PREOCCUPATIONS IN IDENTITY-FORMATION

The role which the preoccupations play in the formation of identities is readily apparent. The crises represented by the early psychosexual stages in the development of the individual are dealt with more or less adequately by both parent and child. To the extent that the crisis of any stage was not adequately resolved, the individual remains preoccupied with the problems and modalities peculiar to that stage. It is as if the individual must constantly "rerun" that stage in order to finally master the problems involved in it.

Such preoccupations are only more or less con-

¹³Ibid, p. 245.

scious, and mostly unconscious. They display themselves mostly in neurotic or psychotic symptomatology and character traits, and most clearly in times of stress. They form the substratum of one's personality which may otherwise be well-adapted to the demands of reality through appropriate sublimations. But in times of crisis even the "normal" individual tends to regress and the latent preoccupations manifest themselves. Simmel¹⁴ believes that "normal" individuals participate in a "mass psychosis" in times of stress. They participate in a mass delusion by giving up their superego function to a group because of their panic in a crisis.

However, such preoccupations are also apparent in everyday life. The studies on character done by psychoanalysts¹⁵ have shown definite traits which they trace to fixations within psychosexual development. The more popu-

¹⁴Ernst Simmel, Anti-Semitism, (New York: International Universities Press, 1946), pp. 43-50.

¹⁵Erik Erikson, Young Man Luther, (New York: Norton, 1958); Erich Fromm, Man For Himself, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1947); Karl Abraham, On Character and Libido Development, (New York: Norton, 1966).

ular classification made by Erich Fromm¹⁶ lists five such types of character: the productive, marketing, hoarding, exploitative, and receptive type individuals. These are character types based on specific orientations to life.

Fromm believes that one or another of these types predominates in a given historical period, or under certain economic and social structures. For example, the exploitative character with its emphasis on "taking" predominated in the nineteenth century when imperialistic and piratical capitalism was at its peak. It was the prototype of the day, just as the marketing man is the prototype of today.¹⁷

In describing the marketing orientation Fromm refers to the rapidly growing number of individuals who experience themselves as commodities and value themselves in terms of what they can "bring" on the "personality market."¹⁸ The self-esteem of the marketing character is based upon what others think he is worth, because his success depends on them. This competitive (phallic) character focuses his attention on such traits as "adaptability, ambition, and sensitivity to the changing expectations of other people."¹⁹ His sense of identity is very shaky, as

¹⁶Fromm, Op. Cit., pp. 70-113 ¹⁷Ibid, p. 75.

¹⁸Ibid, p. 76. ¹⁹Ibid, p. 78

is his self-esteem, because it is constituted by the total number of roles one can play. It is based upon the motto: "I am as you desire me."²⁰ Conformity is his trademark.

The receptive orientation is typical when one group is under the firm domination of another. Unable to shape their affairs and to direct their destinies, the subordinate group looks to the master for their provisions. The Negro's slave identity was of this nature.²¹ Under coercion in the feudal South, the Negro capitalized on his treasure of oral sensuality which permitted a social adaptation in which he was "mild, submissive, dependent, somewhat querulous, but always ready to serve with occasional empathy and childlike wisdom."²² But Erikson points out how such an identity led to a dangerous split, and to a present where there are three possible, but incomplete and unsuccessful identities for the Negro-American.

The Negro's unavoidable identification with the dominant race, and the need of the master race to protect its own identity against the very sensual and oral temptations emanating from the colored race (and from the memory of their mam-mies, in particular), established in both groups

²⁰Ibid, p. 80. ²¹Ibid, p. 86.

²²Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 214.

an association: light--clean--clever--white, and dark--dirty--dumb--nigger. The result, especially in those Negroes who left the poor haven of their Southern homes, was often a violently sudden and cruel cleanliness training, as attested to in the autobiographies of Negro writers. It is as if by cleansing, a whiter identity could be achieved. The attending disillusionment transmits itself to the phallic-locomoter stage, when restrictions as to what shade of girl one may dream of interfere with the free transfer of the original narcissistic sensuality to the genital sphere. Three identities are formed: (1) mammy's oral-sensual "honey-child"--tender, expressive, rhythmical; (2) the evil identity of the dirty, anal-sadistic, phallic-rapist "nigger"; and (3) the clean anal-compulsive, restrained, friendly, but always sad "white man's Negro."²³

Such character orientations are incomplete and frustrating identities based upon unsynthesized but powerful ideal and evil prototypes which are the result of the fact that preoccupations are given form by symbolic thinking.

III. THE ROLE OF IDENTITY IN PREJUDICE

Symbolic thinking and preoccupations operate in their own way to contribute to the formation of prejudice. They are also operative in the formation of identities. When their interaction in a single individual brings about

²³Ibid.

a configuration in which the different identity fragments are not synthesized to some degree, or at least in the process of being synthesized, the individual is in a state of interrupted identity-formation. It is a crisis for the individual and it arouses great anxiety in him, because of the threat of identity diffusion. The individual may cope with this anxiety in a constructive way, and what may at first look like a genuine neurosis may prove to be self-liquidating and also may contribute to the process of identity-formation.²⁴ Bettelheim and Janowitz quote Joost Meerloo as pointing out how such behavior seemed to result in the strengthening of the ego:

Several egoless patients of mine became (in their own estimation) new personalities when the Nazis, who occupied their homeland, gave them the opportunity to feel real hatred. The reality had cured them of their obsessive defenses against their inner hostility.²⁵

But what appears as prejudice may be the distorted if frustrated attempt to deal with this same anxiety. Under the stress of certain environmental conditions--such as segregation tries to avoid--the individual's incomplete identity

²⁴Erikson, "Identity and the Life Cycle," p. 116.

²⁵Bettelheim, Social Change and Prejudice, p. 53.

is exposed. Since his identity does not provide him with the strength to deal constructively with the anxiety, he regresses. His preoccupations are exposed and he reverts to the more primitive mechanisms involved in symbolic thinking--splitting, projection denial, etc.--in order to ward off the anxiety.

Fromm has shown how such anxiety compels certain individuals to escape into ways of life represented by "authoritarianism," "destructiveness," and "automaton conformity." These terms are the labels for mechanisms of escape. By "authoritarianism" he means "the tendency to give up the independence of one's own individual self and to fuse one's self with somebody outside of oneself in order to acquire the strength which the individual self is lacking."²⁶ More specifically, it is found in the striving for domination or submission. This kind of symbiotic fusion of individuals and groups, as a substitute for the solidarity of equality, leads to sadistic and masochistic behavior.²⁷

The sado-masochistic character of the white and black man's relationship has been prominent from the days

²⁶Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1941), pp. 136-207.

²⁷Ibid, p. 142.

of slave ownership to the present, with only the forms changing. The white man's attempt to keep the Negro an inferior object by his discriminatory behavior and cultural myths and also by provocative goading of the Negro in order to keep the myths intact is very sadistic. But the Negro's response, although of a mixed nature, has been largely masochistic. The development of a slave mentality was necessary for his survival, but it led to traits of victimization which represent a poor adaptation to the present.²⁸ These traits are identity fragments which were integrated in the Negro's only historically successful identity--that of the slave,²⁹ and only recently have possibilities emerged which could provide a re-integration of them. The appeals of the leaders of the Black Muslim movement are attractive to the Negro because they offer him a strong and positive identity.

Fromm's description of the "authoritarian character"³⁰ closely approximates and is clearly the model investigated by Adorno, et al., (1950) in The Authoritarian Per-

²⁸Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression, (New York: Meridian Books, 1962).

²⁹Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 214.

³⁰Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p. 164.

sonality.³¹ He, like they, means the term to refer to individuals who are not perverts or psychotics but normal.

Like Fromm, Simmel³² points to the fact that the people who participate in mass delusions are normal. He insists that neurotics cannot participate well in groups because they are so inhibited.³³ As a matter of fact, the very reason for individual participation in a "mass psychosis" is in order to avoid personal insanity in a time of stress.³⁴ The individual merges with the group in such a way that his superego functions are given over to the group.³⁵ The superego is projected onto the group and is an external parental power³⁶ which is split into the loved leader and the hated demonic forces represented by minority groups.³⁷ The mechanisms of splitting, projection, rationalization, and denial make possible a "mass psychosis" in the form of "unrestricted aggressive destructiveness under the spell of a delusion in complete denial of reality."³⁸ Such a "mass psychosis" Simmel observed in anti-Semitic be-

³¹T. W. Adorno, et al., The Authoritarian Personality, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

³²Simmel, Op. Cit., p. 43. ³³Ibid, p. 36.

³⁴Ibid, p. 50. ³⁵Ibid, p. 45. ³⁶Ibid, p. 47.

³⁷Ibid, p. 50. ³⁸Ibid, p. 39

havior of groups, but it can also be seen to be operative in anti-Negro prejudice and in the Negro's anti-white prejudice. The particular issue involved in any single prejudice is dependent on the preoccupation involved. Whereas anti-Semitic prejudice stems mainly out of phallic pre-occupations with its emphasis on competition, much of the anti-Negro prejudice also stems out of oral and anal pre-occupations. (This statement will be documented in Chapters VIII and IX.)

The second mechanism of escape described by Fromm is that of destructiveness.³⁹ He differentiates destructiveness from sadism by pointing out that a symbiotic relationship is not involved. It is not an attempt to incorporate the object as in sadistic domination, but an attempt to remove the object. Envy reactions are examples of such destructiveness. They are infantile in nature and are betrayed by the wish to spoil for anyone else what one cannot have oneself. The prime example is the child who destroys another child's toys if he cannot have them. The white man's brutal attacks on the Negro's body can be interpreted as an attempt to ruin or spoil it and as betraying deep envy of the black man--of his strength, of his

³⁹Fromm, Escape from Freedom, 179 ff.

supposed uninhibited sensuality, etc. And the Negro's violent attacks upon the white man's property can be seen as a consciously envious destructiveness of what he feels deprived of.

Fromm believes that "automaton conformity", the third mechanism of escape, is of the greatest social significance, because it is the solution which the majority of normal individuals adopt today. As he puts it briefly:

the individual ceases to be himself; he adopts entirely the kind of personality offered to him by cultural patterns; and he therefore becomes exactly as all others are and as they expect him to be. The discrepancy between "I" and the world disappears and with it the conscious fear of aloneness and powerlessness.⁴⁰

He shows how this kind of conformity can leave the individual in an intense state of insecurity and obsessed with doubt and fear because of a "loss of identity."⁴¹ Due to his panic, he is impelled to conform even more, to seek his identity through obtaining the continuous approval and recognition of others. He is ever ready to submit to new authorities. He fits well into an authoritarian system. Such an escape into symbiosis can avoid suffering for awhile, even though it cannot eliminate it.

When one becomes enmeshed in such mechanisms of es-

⁴⁰Ibid, pp. 185-6. ⁴¹Ibid, pp. 206.

cape as described by Fromm, prejudice often serves to provide a temporary identity, or at least a feeling of identity. But a completed identity would require the placing of some limitations on the processes involved in symbolic thinking and some resolution of the preoccupations, because only so could the identity fragments be synthesized. Although prejudice does function within the personality to secure or strengthen one's identity (at least temporarily), one may find oneself confined to the use of prejudice if he does not find an identity.

CHAPTER VII

PHALLIC PREOCCUPATIONS

A. The Rank Order of Discrimination

There are several ways to view preoccupations. They can be viewed from the emotional, the thinking, or the behavioral aspects. And they can be viewed with regard to whose preoccupations they are. Viewed emotionally, preoccupations display themselves in what the whites are most concerned about regarding the Negro, and in what the Negro is most sensitive to regarding the discrimination he experiences.

According to Myrdal,¹ the areas of discrimination can be ranked as to the order of their importance for both white and Negro groups. He declared that for whites the order of concern (from greatest to least) was: inter-marriage, social relations, public services, political participation, legal privileges, and economic privileges. However, he maintained that the order of the Negro's concern in response to this discrimination (from greatest

¹Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944).

sensitivity to least) is exactly the reverse of the whites. The Negro resents economic discrimination the most and is the least concerned about intermarriage. Studies by Banks² and Edmunds³ done in Ohio, Texas, and Oklahoma have essentially substantiated Myrdal's scheme.

Preoccupations can also be viewed from the point of view of what people think. These preoccupations display themselves in what whites say about the Negroes and what Negroes say about the whites. What each says as an interpretation of the other's behavior is often his own preoccupations manifesting themselves in a projected form. Such thinking preoccupations like the emotional ones, are usually stereotyped in nature. For example, the whites' concern about intermarriage stereotypically phrased as "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" is clearly a projection of the whites own phallic fears since the Negro in actuality is the least concerned about such, and not threatening intermarriage. He does not protest discrimination here. And the Negroes' belief that the "white liberal" cannot be trusted as is contained in the derisive term

²W. S. M. Banks, II, "Rank order of sensitivity to discrimination," American Sociological Review, XV (1950), 529-34.

³Edwin P. Edmunds, "The Myrdalian thesis: rank order of discrimination," Phylon, XV (1951), 297-303.

"white mother," is clearly a projection of the Negroes' oral preoccupations. The "white liberals" offer of "equality" stirs up the Negroes' passive dependent fears. Such stereotyped thoughts of both whites and Negroes function to justify irrational behavior, but they also betray preoccupations.

Viewed from the behavioral standpoint, preoccupations display themselves as the actual discriminatory behavior on the part of whites and Negroes, and in the issues focused upon in the "Civil Rights" movement. These may be and often are different. A study made in a New England town⁴ indicates that the order of degree of actual discrimination (from greatest to least) is the following: housing, desirable jobs, social and religious activities, public facilities, politics, and education. In as far as the issues focused on as "Civil Rights," what began as a struggle to integrate education has grown to include political equality, full access to public accommodation, and to an improvement of living conditions.

The question arises as to which viewpoint it would be most profitable to take in dealing with preoccupations. Since the actual discrimination as it manifests itself in

⁴Frank F. Lee, "The race relations patterns by areas of behavior in a small New England Town," American Sociological Review, XIX (1954), 138-43.

behavior is the lowest common denominator, it shall be used here as the focus of the discussion and the other preoccupations shall be related to it.

Before proceeding to a study of phallic preoccupations, some correlation shall be made between these various kinds of preoccupations, i.e., emotional, thinking, and behavioral. According to Lee's study⁵ the most intense areas of discrimination are housing and desirable jobs. This is fairly simple to understand. Myrdal and others⁶ have reported that what Negroes want most are economic and legal privileges, and that is what housing and desirable jobs represent to them. But they also report that what whites are most concerned about is intermarriage and social relations, which is what integrated housing and integration of the more socially desirable jobs represent to them. That Negroes work or live in proximity to whites, implies to whites that it will only be a matter of time before social and marital integration will take place. Whites fear this competition--sexual, social, and economic. Although whites claim to be least concerned about granting economic privileges to the Negroes, these appear to refer to educational and political opportunities, and to jobs by

⁵Lee, Op. Cit. ⁶Banks and Edmunds, Op. Cit.

which they could make a living, but not to the socially more desirable jobs.

Also whites are concerned with a loss in property values should a Negro move into the neighborhood. Whites fear being robbed of their property values (an anal fear). That the Negro is brown and unconsciously equated with feces, also stirs up anal "smearing" phantasies so repulsive to the whites and is simply an instance of one anal preoccupation (smearing) reinforcing another (that of concern about property). Here, what is a phallic preoccupation for the Negro--intruding himself aggressively into situations--is at the same time an anal preoccupation for whites. The Negro's intrusive behavior does stir up strong phallic preoccupations in whites over fear of competition, but with regard to housing strong anal preoccupations are also activated in whites. The same is true with regard to integrating public facilities. What is phallic preoccupations for the Negro--to live freely without humiliation--is an anal preoccupation for whites who fear touching Negroes and complain of their smell. In a like way, what is an oral preoccupation for the Negro--to take in the form of looting stores in order to immediately improve his living conditions--is an anal preoccupation for the white man who is being robbed of his possessions.

B. The Nature of Phallic Preoccupations in Prejudice

From clinical material obtained in his psycho-analytic practice during the Negro race riots in Detroit in June of 1943, Richard Sterba⁷ concluded

that the negative attitude toward Negroes had a twofold origin, and that it manifests itself in two different forms of hatred and aggression. The first form is the constant and general antagonism against the Negroes and includes all members of the race. It is expressed in the general trend of many white people to 'draw the color line'.... Negroes are considered, or better, experienced emotionally, as unwelcome intruders.⁸

Repressed sibling rivalry, he believes, lies at the basis of such a reaction. In the unconscious of such people the Negro represents the unwanted younger siblings. The second form of Negro hatred and aggression are race riots and lynchings which are directed against the Negro male only. Sterba shows how the unconscious motivation here lies in the repressed hostility toward the father.

Although Sterba's two-fold classification of the origin and forms of anti-Negro hatred seems limited in scope, his analysis of these origins and forms, especially

⁷Richard Sterba, "Some Psychological Factors in Negro Race Hatred and in Anti-Negro Riots," Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences, I (1947), 411-427.

⁸Ibid, p. 412.

the second, is penetrating and elucidating. His paper is especially helpful in clarifying the phallic preoccupations involved in anti-Negro prejudice because of his focus and emphasis on the competition with both siblings and father.

The childhood preoccupation with keeping or driving out younger siblings from the family because of jealousy, is reenacted with the Negro as a substitute object. Such sibling hatred and disgust is often intense in children and openly expressed in direct aggression against the baby. This jealousy is only gradually overcome after many relapses, by the more friendly feelings which develop toward the younger sibling. The hostility is then contained by repression, but preserved in the unconscious and then directed against a substitute object, minorities such as Negroes, Jews, etc. The Negroes are equated emotionally with younger siblings and attempts are made to keep these unwelcome intruders out of the social group of white people because this group represents the enlarged family.

Sterba selects two dreams of his patients to substantiate this conclusion:

The first patient's dream occurred at a time when his hostility against his younger brother was the main subject of the analytic investigation, and it ran as follows:

The patient is in his parents' house. A group of Negroes are attacking the house, and ready to set it on fire. This danger is all of a sudden removed by a magical procedure: The Negroes are all transformed into small balls of protoplasm which are contained in a bottle, so that they can easily be disposed of by emptying the bottle into the sink.

It can easily be recognized that the Negroes are reconverted into ovula in the womb, and the dreamer indicates that in this way he can get rid of them, in that the womb is emptied. Their significance as younger siblings is clear from the dream and from the analytic material of sibling rivalry during which the dream occurred.

The second patient's dream occurred at a time when the patient had signed affidavits for a refugee family in Europe, who were distant relatives of his, so that they could obtain immigration visas for the United States. He felt obliged to do this at the request of his family, but inwardly resented it and was afraid that his dominating position in the family might be threatened, since this refugee family consisted of certain prominent personalities much admired by the American members of the patient's family. After signing the affidavits the patient dreamed:

A big boat approached New York Harbor. The patient is on a small raft nearby. Some Negroes jump from the porthole of the boat into the water. The patient drives his raft toward them and crushes the Negroes between his raft and the side of the big boat.

The patient, who was the oldest of six children, had in his childhood reacted with violently aggressive wishes against each of his newly-arrived siblings. The big ship symbolizes the mother's body, while the jumping into the water typically signifies giving birth to younger siblings, represented in the dream by Negroes. The patient

was a violent Negro Hater. The newcomers, his younger siblings and Negroes can easily be recognized as identical in this dream.⁹

Such dreams clearly indicate the significant role the Negro plays in the unconscious of many white people. There are also other evidences of such equation of Negroes with siblings. The jealousy of the older child flares up any time the younger sibling reaches a new level in his development--when he begins to walk, talk, read, goes to school, etc. The older child wants to deny or belittle these achievements in order to deal with his fear of competition. He wants the younger sibling to remain "stupid," "immature," and "a permanent infant."¹⁰

These reactions are repressed in childhood, but find expression in race hatred. That Negroes should be kept in their place because they are "immature, incapable of development and eternal children" mirrors exactly the attitude of the older child toward the younger sibling. Attempted or actual achievements of Negroes are resented and feared for the same reason--fear of being dethroned through competition. The Negro should remain outside the white community--unwelcome, untrained, and undeveloped. Intermarriage is considered with the greatest terror because com-

⁹Ibid, pp. 413-414. ¹⁰Ibid, p. 415

plete acceptance into the family would then be assured to the Negro. Also, just as the older child hates the family member who pays attention to the younger sibling, so the prejudiced person hates and labels "nigger-lover" those whites who have contact with Negroes.

According to Sterba, this equation of the Negro with the younger sibling elicits a general negative reaction against the Negro race, being directed against both sexes equally. The essential difference between the first and second unconscious emotional motives for Negro hatred is that the second, which manifests itself in the race riot, is directed against the Negro male only.

Sterba demonstrates that the origin of the mass psychological phenomenon which the race riot represents is deeply emotional and unreasonable, and is the violent outbreak of infantile father-hatred. He does guard the extent of his claim as only partial, however, when he says,

The violence of the hatred against the Negro, the lack of justification of this hatred in many individuals who have never had unpleasant experiences with Negroes, and the mass-psychological implications, can be practically understood if we consider the unconscious origin of these strong emotions in the infantile hatred against the father.¹¹

¹¹Ibid, p. 417

The first evidence which Sterba cited to support his claim were the dreams of his patients before the race riots in which the male Negro appeared. He stated that the male Negro in such dreams often had to be recognized as representative of the dreamer's father, particularly the father at night or in his nocturnal activities. Many dreams of being threatened by a Negro were understood as the expression and repetition of the dreamer's infantile fears of his father. He explains how such infantile fears are the resultant of the oedipus complex, and are therefore related to hatred of the father. The oedipus complex, as discussed above, includes the partial resolution of intense ambivalent feelings, especially toward the father. The pain of having emotionally contradictory feelings of love and hate is removed usually by repressing the hatred. In this way, the positive relationship with the father succeeds, but the repressed hatred remains in the unconscious and finds expression only in disguised forms and with substitute objects. Because of such intense hatred contained in the unconscious, the individual also unconsciously fears retaliation. Such repressed fear found expression before the riot in dreams of patients, but during the riots the

¹²Ibid, p. 414.

hatred was also aroused. The following dreams, he submits as evidence that attacks upon Negroes in race riots are the expression of father hatred.¹³

A non-analytic patient's dream reveals the underlying psychological forces in Negro riots very clearly. He was not a participant in the riots, although he favored the aggression against the Negroes to some extent.

He dreamed at the time of the race riots that a Negro was trying to climb into the window of his bedroom on the second floor, while he was lying in bed. The patient grabbed his favorite shot gun, which was lying beside him, and shot at the Negro. He shot his head off, the body fell down outside, and the head rolled on the floor of the room, where it began to cry: "What did you do to me? I can't go home without my body."

The patient knew in the dream that "home" meant his own mother's home. The castration in the form of decapitation is obvious in the dream.

An analytic patient, a very liberal man, who was deeply shocked by the Detroit events and sincerely opposed to the persecution of the Negroes, nevertheless had the following dream during the riots:

He is hunting and shooting down a few white birds. He immediately recognized after waking that what had to be replaced by black, as frequently in dreams elements are presented by their opposites, and that the black birds were Negroes and their penes. The riots occurred at the time when his father hatred was particularly intense and active in his analysis.

Another white patient's dream, which occurred during the race riots in Detroit, was as follows:

¹³Ibid, pp. 420-421.

The patient is up North hunting. He is lying in wait for the game, and hears the crackling of twigs as the animal approaches him. He expects it to be a moose, and is all ready to shoot it when it appears. But when the leaves of the brush part as the animal steps out, it is not a moose but a large, powerful Negro. The dreamer sees that he has a scar on his right cheek. He then woke up. He immediately recognized the scar as that which his father had on his right cheek.¹⁴

In these dreams attack is made upon the Negro as a substitute for the father. The Negro is a substitute for the father for more reasons than that the Negro is dark and associated with "the father at night."¹⁵ In the South many children were nursed by a Negro "mammy" and they naturally responded to her in many ways as if she were their mother. In this context, however, the male Negro becomes the father and under the influence of oedipal strivings, the hated father. The lynching of the Negro in the South was the early and classical form of the race riot. It, like the modern riots, was regularly triggered by a rumor that a Negro had raped a white woman, and both represent oedipal attacks upon the father. The form of attacks in the dreams is that of castration. This stems from the

¹⁴Ibid, p. 425. ¹⁵Ibid, p. 416

source of the child's father hatred. The father's penis is hated because it causes him to feel inferior concerning the size of his own. He believes that his mother prefers his father because of the larger size of the father's penis. Therefore, it becomes the object of attack. Father hatred finds its expression in castration tendencies.

Such castration tendencies are clearly operative in race riots. The larger size of the Negro's penis and legends about it appear to be very important factors in the unconscious emotional reactions which issue in race riots.

It was Sterba's observation that "among the most embittered white participants in the race riots in Detroit were adolescents, many of Southern origin."¹⁶ Their sexual immaturity and insecurity would tend to make adolescents more vicious in their castrative tendencies. In the South such castrative tendencies accompanied lynching where the lynched Negro's genitals are actually cut off, or find symbolic expression in the tarring and feathering of a victim before killing him. To tar and feather someone is to transform him into a bird, which is an unconscious phallic symbol (in German the vulgar term for intercourse is "vogeln" which literally means "to bird" and in English

¹⁶Ibid, p. 120.

a vulgar term for penis is "cock"). Such castrative tendencies found expression in attacks upon a different phallic symbol in the Detroit riots. In the industrialized North the automobile is an obvious phallic symbol, and during these riots the automobiles of Negroes were burned systematically and callously.

Sterba also demonstrates the close connections between race riots and group hunting. In the three dreams quoted above the aggression against the Negro is connected with hunting. And Sterba argues that both group hunting and race riots are collective father murder. He points out how in Totemism the animal totem is substituted for the father and is periodically hunted, killed, and eaten by the tribe. Likewise, in modern life the deer and the fox are obvious father symbols and group hunting is patricidal. The custom of castrating the slain animal--rationalized as necessary to keep the meat from spoiling--which often accompanies such hunting activities confirms the patricidal and castrative motivations, as does the later display of the deers antlers and the fox's tail (obvious phallic symbols) as one's trophy. To display such trophies is to signal one's victory over an opponent. Referring to the hunting aspect of the anti-Negro race riots Sterba says:

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People who observed the race riots in Detroit from their downtown office windows above the streets where the riots occurred had the definite impression that the Negro was hunted. When he attempted to escape in one direction he was met by a group of white people who chased him back to his first persecutors, or in another direction where he met a third group of 'hunters,' until he was cornered like an animal and knocked down. The way in which the persecutors shouted at one another, such as 'there's one,' 'get him,' definitely reminded the spectators of hunting scenes.¹⁷

Phallic preoccupations center around competition and self-worth. These activities cited above clearly betray such preoccupations. The need to reject younger siblings and to defeat the father are simply re-enacted with the Negro as a substitute object. But these needs stem out of the individual's feelings of insecurity, inferiority, jealousy, etc. In the case of the younger siblings the competition is for the love of the parents. The older child fears being dethroned and losing his coveted place in the parents' affections. With regard to the father, the son feels inferior in size and prowess and hates the father in his competition for mother's love.

Such preoccupations also manifest themselves in other ways. Riots and lynchings are among the most extreme manifestations. "Drawing the color line" for competitive

¹⁷Ibid, p. 425.

reasons, involving as it does segregated housing, segregated social relations, and segregation of the more socially desirable jobs, is the next most extreme phallic preoccupation manifestation. These have been reviewed in the discussion of Sterba's article.

Other important, though less extreme reactions, can be recognized as avoidance and anti-location. Without advocating segregation or decrying integration some white people move into a neighborhood where they "know" Negroes cannot enter in order to avoid conflict. The community acts as a fortress for them not only against facing the problems of racial strife, but also against the other conflicts and pains of a growing world. Such withdrawal from conflict and the effort it demands is a response to phallic preoccupations. This response can be seen more clearly in the context of race relations as the inability of the white man to recognize the seriousness of the racial situation, and in the kinds of stereotyped solutions which he offers to racial problems. The insistence that the Negro ought to "earn" his place¹⁸ in the American community as did the Irish, Japanese, etc., or that the Negro needs to be

¹⁸Discussed by Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, (New York: Random House, 1964).

"acculturated"¹⁹ to city life is representative of such withdrawal. Because Negroes feel alienated from the mainstream of American culture and even protest it in rioting, it is absurd to expect them to participate in that culture "responsibly." In order for it not to be absurd to expect the Negro to shoulder a "full share of the responsibility for his own well being"²⁰ the forces which reduce him to a second-class citizen, political, cultural, and psychological non-entity, must be removed. If he feels a part of the culture, he will be motivated to help himself in a responsible way. Such insistence ignores the fact that even when Negroes achieve distinction in terms of the cultural values, they are discriminated against simply because they are Negroes (men like Ralph Bunche are still denied accommodations in many places), and that despite the mass migration of the Negro population to the large cities during the last decades, many of their brethren have been in these cities for many years and are no better "acculturated" than the newcomers.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰John McCone, A Report by the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, (Los Angeles: Kintex Corporation, 1965).

Probably less extreme than such avoidance is anti-location. Speaking out against the Negro, against integration of society, and insistence on segregated activities can be seen as an attempt by the white man to deal with his own feelings of insecurity, inferiority, and jealousy which the idea of integration arouses. The widespread purchase of firearms by whites during the Negro rioting in Los Angeles in the summer of 1965²¹ was also an attempt to deal with such feelings. The fear of being attacked by the Negroes was very strong even in communities many miles away from the scene of rioting.

Such are the phallic preoccupations of white men as they manifest themselves in race relations. But the Negro also manifests phallic preoccupations in his behavior in regard to race relations. Sterba assumed that the violent and destructive behavior of Negroes in the Detroit riots was motivated by the same kind of unconscious tendencies as that of the white man, but he went no further. The Negro rioting in Los Angeles during the summer of 1965 gave striking evidence of such comparable reactions. The McCone Report summarized the riot in this way:

²¹Ibid.

In the ugliest interval, which lasted from Thursday through Saturday, perhaps as many as 10,000 Negroes took to the streets in marauding bands. They looted stores, set fires, beat up white passersby whom they hauled from stopped cars, many of which were turned upside down and burned, exchanged shots with law enforcement officers, and stoned and shot at firemen. The rioters seemed to have been caught up in an insensate rage of destruction.²²

Again the hunt was on. But the hunt was for goods, not men. This hunt for goods is an oral preoccupation which will be dealt with in a later chapter. The setting of fires, beating up whites, burning their automobiles, and shooting and stoning of firemen and policemen, were obvious reactions to feeling of impotence, inferiority, disappointment, and rage. To distinguish between which feelings are appropriate to the Negro's situation, and to what degree, is extremely difficult. Despite the fact that the plight of the Negro is at times desperate, he is also subject to the same preoccupations as white men. To say that one can understand such violent protests as riots on the part of Negroes is a far cry from saying that such protests are justifiable. As a means of attaining what the Negro says he wants, the riot is certainly irrational. And it is precisely the irrationality of such violent outbreaks

²²Ibid.

that betrays the underlying preoccupations. The Negro has not learned any better than the white man how to cope with the negative feelings which are contained in his phallic preoccupations, else he would approach their satisfaction in more appropriate and reasonable ways.

The indiscriminate attack upon anyone who was white in the Los Angeles riot was made clear by the many signs posted in the shop windows of establishments owned by Negroes to protect them from being burned and looted. Such signs read "Negro owned," "Owned and operated by a Black Man," and "Blood Brother." The attack was clearly upon anyone who was not Negro. It is interesting that the Negro was apparently not out to kill the white man. Of those killed during the riots, 34 in all, 31 were Negro.²³ Two law enforcement officers were shot accidentally by other officers, and one fireman was crushed by a falling wall to constitute the three white men killed. Despite rumors of Negroes traveling the freeways with shotguns and despite the fact of much Negro sniping, white men were not killed by Negro bullets. Of the 1,032 others injured during the riots, 118 were wounded by gunshot, but the McCone report does not specify how many of these were white men

²³Ibid.

and how many Negro. One would suspect that some white men were recipients of Negro bullets, but it is amazing that no Negro bullets killed white men.

But pulling white men from their cars, beating them up, overturning the cars and burning them does betray deep hostility toward the white man. The Negro's attack upon the automobile can be considered a disguised attack upon his father's penis. The Negro's own unresolved oedipal strivings are re-enacted with the white man as the one who keeps him inferior and impotent. The police are especially hated as authority figures, and cries of police brutality are probably based at least as much on fiction (i.e., unconscious father hatred) as on fact.

Such violence as exploded in the Los Angeles riot of 1965 is the most extreme manifestation of the phallic preoccupations of Negroes. Perhaps next in order of severity is the Negroes' emphasis upon "Black Power." What apparently began as a slogan to unite Negroes in non-violent protests, such as boycotts and block-voting, has come to mean to many Negroes that they must demonstrate to the white man that they mean business by meeting discrimination with threats and actual attacks. The giving up of the emphasis on non-violence and the actual reciprocation of violence for violence during recent

marches and demonstrations (Chicago, summer 1965) seems to follow this later interpretation of "Black Power."

The report on "The Plot to Get Whitey"²⁴ also emphasizes the threat of violent attack on any and every white man. The threat of such indiscriminate behavior on the part of Negroes makes the issue appear "black man against white man" instead of how to deepen one's humanity. Symbolic thinking is as apparent here in its distorting and justifying function as it is in the racist attitudes of Ku Klux Klan. In this threat the Negro seems to have accepted the role of the "evil, rapist nigger" with all its suicidal overtones, because in this role he at least feels as if he is doing something dramatic about his plight.

Such militant posture by the Negro is also defended and advocated by the Black Muslims who are a religious group who attempt to link the American Negro with the cultural tradition and religion of the Moslems of North Africa and the Near East. They attempt to overcome feelings of self-hatred, impotence, inferiority, etc., by creating a mythology by which to interpret history such that the white man is proved to be evil and decadent (referred to as the "white devil") and the black man (they

²⁴Russell Sackett, "Plotting a War on Whitey," Life, (June 10, 1966), 100-112.

reject the term Negro as a white man's invention) as the superior breed. Such a mythology reverses the more universal myth that the white man is superior because he is white.

This focus on self-worth is also carried by the Civil Rights movement in its insistence that a man ought to be evaluated in terms of his being a man and not accepted or rejected because of the color of his skin.

CHAPTER VIII

ANAL PREOCCUPATIONS

There are some expressions of prejudice which do not have to do with phallic preoccupations. It would be difficult to trace to unconscious roots of a phallic nature such reactions as obsession with a neat and orderly neighborhood, being repulsed by the thought of eating, lodging, swimming, etc., with Negroes, and relentless concern with the loss of property values should a minority group member move into the neighborhood. These reactions do not have to do with fear of competition or concern with self-worth. Feelings of insecurity, inferiority, and jealousy which are central to phallic preoccupations do not seem to predominate in these reactions but rather feelings of repulsion, disgust, and fears of being depleted are operative. The preoccupations expressed in such reactions are anal in nature.

As discussed in Chapter V of this study, anal preoccupations center around the struggle for self-control and ambivalence towards one's possessions, and manifest themselves in sublimations and reaction-formations. The

sublimations and reaction-formations discussed there included such traits as frugality, compulsive orderliness, morbid cleanliness, obstinancy, sadism, and extravagance. Such social adaptations are adequate in many areas of living, being passed off as idiosyncrasies. But under certain circumstances of stress their inadequacy is exposed. Under stress they do not enable the individual to cope with the anal wishes which have been so defended against.

When these defensive formations are threatened and the repressed anal wishes emerge, the individual tends to respond in such a way as to fortify and strengthen these same defenses against the forbidden wishes.

In this way anal preoccupations are expressed in prejudice. Under stress of the Civil Rights movement, such sublimations of and reaction-formations against forbidden anal wishes are threatened, and the individual's attempt to strengthen them tends to make the preoccupations more obvious.

In an article entitled "Some Dynamics of Anti-Negro Prejudice,"¹ James Hamilton describes the reactions of many

¹James Hamilton, "Some Dynamics of Anti-Negro Prejudice," Psychoanalytic Review, LIII, 1 (Spring 1966), 5-16.

Ann Arbor residents to the debate over and passing of a Fair Housing Ordinance in that city in 1963. These reactions, both during and after the debate, were primarily anal in nature. For example, during the debate a family that was moving out of the city placed their house for sale on the open market listing. They agreed to allow their house, located in an all-white, middle-class area, to be sold to a Negro. Their next door neighbors, who were close friends and had volunteered a farewell party for them, felt betrayed by this family when they were told by their realtor that if Negroes were to move in next door their property would be devalued by \$2,000. Hamilton says of this couple that they

were both of unquestionable middle-class background, university educated, compulsive personalities who placed considerable emphasis on prestige, status, and material possessions, especially money.²

These neighbors became irate and began circulating a petition asking for a public vote on the issue before allowing the City Council to pass judgment, this based on a confidence that the majority of citizens were against it. When

²Ibid, p. 7.

these neighbors met strong opposition in several homes they took the stand,

"I know it's undemocratic and unchristian to do this sort of thing, but I'm opposed to integrated housing and will do my utmost to prevent it."³

This over-reaction to the possibility of having Negroes living next door strengthened their forbidden instinctual wishes to play with feces, and thereby threatened the effectiveness of their reaction-formation against these wishes represented by their compulsivity. Also threatened was their defensive sublimation of the wish to play with feces, represented by their obsession with money. The lowering of their property values meant that they would be deprived of that much money, and so of the valued feces which money unconsciously symbolizes.

The unconscious equation of money and the Negro with feces can also be illustrated in other ways. The U. S. Currency is backed in part with gold, the anal derivation of which is obvious, and the coin shortage of 1964 was believed to be due to individual hoarding, another anal preoccupation. From a letter to-the-editor published in the Ann Arbor News (Aug. 28, '63) during the debate over

³Ibid.

the Fair Housing Ordinance and quoted by Hamilton, the unconscious dynamics discussed above are apparent. He quoted as follows:

Here in Ann Arbor we are engaged in a great debate over civil rights and the question of property values versus human rights keeps coming into the picture. I do not mean to minimize the importance of this struggle, to eliminate discrimination in housing. It is important. I only ask that we take time from the flood of high sounding phrases and quotations from Lincoln to consider the fact that we are trying to walk before we have learned to crawl. We have not yet learned to protect the simplest right--the right of a citizen to walk in his yard without stepping in a mess left by a neighbor's dog. What kind of people are these dog owners who let their animals run, in violation of the law? They have no concern for the rights of others--civil, legal, or moral--that much seems certain. Give me a choice between a colored neighbor who respects others' rights and the average dog owner in this town and you won't need an ordinance to keep me from objecting to a 'mixed' neighborhood.⁴

This letter is an obvious attempt to avoid appearing prejudiced. Instead of attacking Negroes, thoughtless dog owners are condemned. But the equation of the Negro with feces is apparent.

Also in the newspaper coverage of a clash during the debate, between Negro pickets and city police and firemen, the acting mayor was quoted as deploring such behav-

⁴Hamilton, Op. Cit., p. 9.

ior. But in his statement "democracy" was misspelled as "Demoncracy." And in the same edition the daily bridge column contained another typographical error. Where the author meant to say "in that suit" it read "in that shit."⁵ Such typographical errors, both anal in nature, are significant in this context. They equate the Negro not only with feces, but also with evil. Hamilton also reports how many of the students at the University of Mississippi who, because they befriended James Meredith, had the walls of their rooms smeared with feces by students opposed to integration.⁶ And Kardiner and Ovesey have emphasized how aware the Negro is of this equation of Negro and feces in the white man's thinking. In speaking of the dilemma of the middle- and upper-class Negro, they say: "In his acceptance of the white man's cleanliness obsession, the Negro ends by identifying himself with feces"⁷

Instances of reaction-formations against the wish to play with feces, other than that of opposing integrated

⁵Ibid, pp. 9-10. ⁶Ibid, p. 8.

⁷Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression. (New York: Meridian Books, 1962), p. 316.

housing, can be seen in the repulsion and squeamishness some people express about touching or rubbing up against Negroes or over Negroes handling their food. Even in the anti-Negro riots seldom is a hand laid on the Negroes themselves. They are stoned, railed against, and bombed, but rarely touched.⁸

Likewise, reaction-formations against anal wishes are manifest in much segregation, especially of public services. The "place" of the Negro--in the back of the bus, at separate drinking fountains, in separate toilets and waiting rooms, etc.--is meant to insure that the white person will not touch the Negro or come in contact with what the Negro has touched. Such motivation is also involved in segregation of barbershops, beauty parlors, funeral homes, stores, parks, swimming places, movies, hotels and restaurants. The Negro is kept separate lest forbidden anal wishes be strengthened and threaten the white man's ability to deal with them.

As mentioned above, when these defenses are threatened, the individual responds in such a way that his reaction-formations and sublimations will be reinforced. In the case of the passing of the Fair Housing Ordinance

⁸Hamilton, Op. Cit., pp. 10-11.

in Ann Arbor, Hamilton describes two general counter-reactions by certain civic groups.⁹

The first was a concerted effort to arrest and prosecute homosexuals in the fall. These "drives" have always taken place in the spring around Ann Arbor and have been directed against university personnel, with the majority of arrests taking place in men's rooms on the campus, where policemen have been planted in a fashion resembling entrapment.

And the other reaction followed not much later.¹⁰

In the spring of 1964, the City Council passed an anti-litter law very promptly and equipped police officers with a special book of tickets intended for individuals violating this ordinance, and in May declared a month-long "Clean-Up, Fix-Up, and Paint-Up" campaign in an attempt to qualify the city for the "Nation's Cleanest Town Award" in the 50,000 - 100,000 population category.

The threat to reaction-formations which are designed to handle anal wishes stimulates the homosexual component. The wish to be penetrated anally by the Negro is aroused. And insofar as the Negro is equated with the father (see Chap. VII) the individual may thereby snare the father's power. The threat to one's defenses posed by such wishes was handled in Ann Arbor by the persecution of overt homosexuals. The homosexual wishes were located outside oneself and punished there.

⁹Ibid, p. 12.

¹⁰Ibid.

Likewise, the Negroes' demands for equality, manifest in the Fair Housing Ordinance, aroused the wish to play with feces as described above. The defenses against these wishes were intensified by the anti-litter law and the clean-up campaign.

These attempts to strengthen defenses against forbidden anal wishes are comparatively mild as compared with the anti-Negro riots which were interpreted in the previous chapter as disguised father-murder, a phallic preoccupation. But there are also extreme reactions of an anal nature. The bombing of homes and churches of Negroes can be seen as an expulsive elimination of what one abhors. The anal-sadistic motivation in such behavior is apparent. And the same impulse is involved in the burning of stores by Negroes when they riot. "Burn, Baby, Burn" is mostly a cry of angry protest, but deeply rooted anal wishes find gratification in such destructive "good riddance" behavior.

CHAPTER IX

ORAL PREOCCUPATIONS

Of the preoccupations which manifest themselves in prejudice, the oral preoccupations are the most difficult to discern. This is partly because many oral satisfactions are permitted in adult life and do not have to be so greatly defended against as do phallic and anal wishes, and partly because oral gratifications are adequately disguised, being mixed as they are with later anal and phallic preoccupations.¹ In any case, sublimations and reaction-formations against oral wishes are not utilized to the same extent. But oral preoccupations are operative in many contexts. Already mentioned is the Negro's fear of his passive dependence on the white man as is betrayed in the derisive label "white mother" which is applied to the white man and in the Negro's looting of stores during riots to immediately improve his living conditions. This

¹Otto Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis, (New York: Norton, 1945), 4. 488.

emphasis on aggressive taking of what one wants is of an obvious oral nature.

Although these oral preoccupations of the Negro are the only ones mentioned in the preceding chapters, this is not to be interpreted as meaning that the white man is devoid of such preoccupations. It shall be the task of this chapter to indicate where oral preoccupations are manifest in both the Negro's and the white man's prejudice.

Oral preoccupations stem from fixation upon the mouth as a sensuous area and upon passive receptivity or aggressive taking as modes of social adaptation (see Chap. V). All emphasis upon either positive and negative taking or receiving points to oral preoccupations.²

As was pointed out in the discussion of the development of preoccupations, positive traits which are developmentally related to the oral stage include trust, gratitude, self-assurance, and patience. These develop if all goes well. But if the mutual regulation between mother and child is interrupted, other reactions emerge which lead to the formation of such traits as suspicion, envy, withdrawal, sadism, impatience, passivity, and cynicism. These latter traits represent oral preoccupations because they

²Ibid, p. 489.

are frustrated attempts to attain oral gratifications. They are defenses against the pain involved in oral longings which were unfulfilled. Even measures to invite being refused and deprived, as Bergler has pointed out,³ represent oral preoccupations. It also is an attempt to defend one against infantile fears of the oral stage.

Such preoccupations as these manifest themselves in prejudice in a variety of ways. Illustrations of oral preoccupations appear in much of the psychoanalytic literature on prejudice reviewed in Chapter II, although the authors do not recognize them as such. For instance, McLean⁴ emphasizes the unconscious attraction that exists between the white man and the Negro. This attraction is betrayed by the white man's fear of biological integration with the Negro. Because the Negro has become the symbol of emotional freedom for the white man, deep feelings of dependent longing are stirred up in the latter. But because such passive longings stemming from the oral stage threaten the white man's feeling of prestige and potency,

³Edmund Bergler, The Basic Neurosis, (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1949), p. 3.

⁴Helen McLean, "Psychodynamic Factors in Racial Relations," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCXLIV (1946), 165 ff.

the white man responds by projecting this weakness onto the Negro and condemning the Negro for it.⁵ The enslavement of the Negro, with its continuance in a pattern of discrimination, and the myth of white superiority are attempts to hide such threatening oral wishes and to reassure one of one's independence and potency. But the Negro is needed by the white man to reassure the latter of his own self-worth.

Further illustration of oral preoccupations manifest in prejudice is given by Fenichel⁶ and Simmel⁷ without being acknowledged as such. They portray the dynamics of prejudice as the projections of one's superego functions onto external agents. Fenichel pointed out that the Jews served as the agents for the projection of both id and superego.⁸ In the example given,⁹ the Jews were substituted for the authorities (superego) and held responsible for the trouble in Russia, while at the same time they

⁵Ibid, p. 166.

⁶Otto Fenichel, "Psychoanalysis of Anti-Semitism," American Imago, I, 2, (1940)

⁷Ernst Simmel, Anti-Semitism, (New York: International Universities Press, 1946).

⁸Ibid, p. 20. ⁹Chapter II, p. 26, above.

punished as the ones who had gotten away with something (id impulses). Simmel, on the other hand, pointed out how individuals give up their superego functions to a group. The superego is first split into a good and bad superego. The group and its beloved leader (the good superego) become one's moral guides and the enemy (the evil superego) is represented by the Jew.¹⁰

When these projections of oneself onto another take place, a symbiotic relationship is unconsciously established which approximates the relationship of the infant to the mother.¹¹ Even though the prejudiced person denies such a bond with the object of his prejudice, it does exist on an unconscious level and several authors have pointed to it explicitly. Lowenstein¹² has illustrated how the Christian and Jew have each needed the other for his assurance of his own identity and how they have therefore formed a "cultural pair." And McLean¹³ has pointed out

¹⁰Simmel, Op. Cit., p. 47.

¹¹Margaret Mahler, "On Child Psychosis and Schizophrenia; Autistic and Symbiotic Child Psychoses," Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, VII (1952).

¹²Rudolph Lowenstein, Christians and Jews, (New York: International Universities Press 1951).

¹³McLean, Op. Cit.

the unconscious bond that exists between the white man and the Negro. The white man and the Negro is each in his own way dependent upon the other and is deeply afraid of this dependency.

The development of a symbiotic relationship stems out of oral needs as can be seen from issues involved. The deep unconscious desire in the attempt at fusion with another is to swallow up the other person in a possessing way so that his strength and power can be used to strengthen one's own identity. The paradigm situation is that of the infant who wishes to incorporate the breast and mother.¹⁴ But this wish also manifests itself as the wish to be swallowed up by another as in "authoritarianism" described by Fromm¹⁵ so that one can share the stronger identity. Merging oneself with authorities or with gangs as in adolescence¹⁶ is also common in prejudice.

Recognizing the universality of such fusion in prejudice (see also Chap. VI), it seems as if oral preoccu-

¹⁴Klein, Envy and Gratitude, (New York: Basic Books, 1957), p. 3.

¹⁵Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1941), pp. 141-179.

¹⁶Erik Erikson, "Identity and the Life Cycle," Psychological Issues, I, 1 (1959), pp. 18-166.

lie at the very roots of prejudice, in the same way that Bergler insists that oral regression lies at the basis of every neurosis.¹⁷ Whether anal or phallic preoccupations are also involved is not in question. It has been pointed out in the previous chapters that they are involved in prejudice. But without the oral preoccupations, and the desire to resolve them by developing a symbiotic relationship, particularly if a negative type, the anal and phallic preoccupations would probably diminish. Another way of stating this is to point out that if the infant successfully resolves the crises of the oral stage, he is better prepared to meet the crises of the later anal and phallic stages, and is less likely to remain preoccupied with those later crises.

Evidences of the oral preoccupations contained in the symbiotic type relationship between the white man and the Negro or between the Gentile and the Jew are numerous. They take different forms, however. Oral preoccupations are expressed in prejudice as either direct acting-out or reaction-formations. The former represent a direct enactment of the preoccupation, but often in a somewhat disguised form, whereas reaction-formations represent the

¹⁷Bergler, Op. Cit., p. 38.

tendency to express overtly the exact opposite of the wish.

The acting-out of the Negro's oral preoccupations through prejudice can best be understood in the context of his dependent relationship to the white man for jobs, for "civil rights," and even for his ideals.¹⁸ The structure of his relationship to the white man places him in the passive or sucking position. Even the offer of "equality" by the "white liberal" evokes a response of mistrust and hostility.¹⁹ The Negro feels anxious about such enforced passivity, but the derisive term "white mother" betrays a certain ambivalence about the satisfaction of his oral needs. On the one hand he sees the white man as one from whom he receives (jobs, "rights," ideals, etc.) and the white man becomes the symbol of mother, God, salvation, or the breast. On the other hand, the passive dependent role is a vulnerable one where the Negro is unable to establish a satisfactory identity because he is condemned to be an eternal child. Against this threat he defends himself with resentment and aggression. The term "white mother" is the sublimated expression of both sides of the

¹⁸See Kardiner and Ovesey, Mark of Oppression, 316.

¹⁹James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name, (New York: Dell, 1961).

Negro's dilemma concerning his passive-dependent relationship with the white man.

An acting-out of the Negro's passive-dependency on the white man is the identity described by the phrase "white man's Negro." This is the Negro who identified with the white man and his way of life, and attempts to play down the fact that he is Negro. He acquiesces to the white man and the white man likes him. Other Negroes, however, regard him with contempt and call him "Uncle Tom" or "suck."²⁰ The latter term points to the oral implications of this identity.

Other evidences of the Negro's acting-out of oral preoccupations can be seen in the identity of the oral-sensual "honeychild" who is tender, expressive, and rhythmical.²¹ This represents an acceptance of passive-dependency in the form of being the eternal child. Fulfilling many roles normally expected of adults is not a part of this identity. Such an identity must lie behind the fact many Negroes do not vote in elections even when the obstacles are removed. Erikson also mentions psychic in-

²⁰From a Negro patient in therapy with this author.

²¹Erik Erickson, Childhood and Society, (New York: Norton, 1950), p. 214.

validism as a similar acting-out.

Tired of his own caricature, the colored individual often retires into hypochondriac invalidism as a condition which represents an analogy to the dependence and the relative safety of defined restriction in the South: a neurotic regression to the ego identity of the slave.²²

Not the least of the acting-out of oral preoccupations in prejudice is the expression of envy. Melanie Klein²³ has pointed out how envy stems from oral frustration and has as its distinguishing characteristic, not only the wish to have what another has, but the wish to spoil for others what one cannot have for oneself. Such envy is noted by Ackerman and Jahoda²⁴ as being prominent in the psychodynamic role played by anti-Semitic prejudice in several of the cases analyzed in their study.

In one case (Case I)²⁵ a forty-five year old professional woman who was unmarried expressed anti-Semitism at an overt verbal level in her in-group, but not in the presence of Jews for fear of offending them. Her accusa-

²²Ibid, p. 215. ²³Klein, Op. Cit., Ch. 3.

²⁴Nathan Ackerman and Maria Jahoda, Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

²⁵Ibid, p. 95.

tions against the Jews were that they were of low class, social climbers, very clever, vulgar enough to push, and successful in their social aggressiveness. According to the authors, the dynamic role of anti-Semitic prejudice in this woman's personality structure was as follows:

The Jews, to her a symbol of success, form a convenient outlet for her deep-rooted envy and her frustrated social aspirations. Their "low-class" status helps to enhance her own prestige in society. By artificially creating a lower group on whom she can look down she attempts to increase her own self-esteem.²⁶

This woman in her prejudice attempted to "spoil" for the Jews what she felt she could not have for herself-- social status. Likewise, another patient (Case 4)²⁷ who was an unmarried business woman in her thirties, regarded the Jews as inferior, bad-mannered, loud, aggressive, shrews, etc. This patient used her prejudice to avoid her own self-hatred for being a woman, and the resultant feeling of worthlessness. Her anti-Semitic talk and jokes displaced her own self-hatred onto the Jews while at the same time manifesting her envy of them.

Another anti-Semitic patient (Case 29)²⁸ who expressed envy of the Jews was a married man, a white-collar worker in his late thirties. He had the problem of getting

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid, p. 98.

²⁸Ibid, p. 120.

into fights with Jewish neighbors and doctors. But his remarks about them betrayed the deep ambivalence expressed in his envy. According to Ackerman and Jahoda,

The client suffers from deep frustrations; his emotional life is inhibited, his ambitions checked. He sees the Jews as having achieved everything that he cannot achieve; they are good husbands (his wife once ran away from him), good fathers (he has no children of his own and his stepdaughter despises him); the Jews are socially and economically successful (he is uncertain of himself), they know where they belong (he is a foster child with a limited and confused idea about his biological parents). The comparison is so devastating for his self-confidence that the envy is turned into aggressiveness against Jews as a form of self-defense. If he can pretend to look down on them in spite of all their envied qualities, his own envy with its self-destructive implications is, at least, bearable.²⁹

As can be seen in these examples, envy often unconsciously accompanies the fear of competition (a phallic preoccupation). Both of these preoccupations are expressed in lynchings and race riots. The attack upon the Negro male is father-hatred (see Chap. VII above), but also envious in nature. The envy is betrayed by the "spoiling" of the Negro's potency by the castration which often accompanies these attacks.³⁰

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Richard Sterba, "Some Psychoanalytic Factors in Negro Race Hatred and in Anti-Negro Riots," Psychoanalysis and the Social Science, (New York: International Universities Press, I, 1947), p. 420.

Also the beating of the Negro is envious in nature. In the fall of 1965, three male Civil Rights workers from New York City, two whites and one Negro, were apprehended and killed by segregationists in Philadelphia, Mississippi. When their bodies were recovered from their burial in an earthen dam, it was found that the two white workers had been shot, but the Negro had been severely beaten with a chain. The obvious intent to spoil the Negro's body and what it represents to the white man in terms of such things as sensual freedom was apparent. The white man often feels devoid of the capacity for the expression of genuine warmth which he believes the Negro has.³¹ Contact with the Negro is often viewed as a way of achieving this capacity but that contact is forbidden by a conscience which forbids oral (and other) impulses. What results instead is punishment of him who represents the temptation--the Negro.³² This relieves one's guilt about forbidden oral wishes, but also expresses destructive envious wishes in the spoiling of the Negro's body.

Envy is not, however, confined to the white man. The Negro is obviously envious of the white man. But his attack seems to be more often confined to the white man's

³¹McLean, Op. Cit., p. 164. ³²Ibid.

property. The attack during the Los Angeles Riot of 1965³³ was basically the burning and looting of stores owned by white men. The envious destruction of what they felt deprived of and the aggressive taking of whatever they could get away with were as blatant as television could portray them.

So much for the acting-out of oral preoccupations in prejudice. Oral preoccupations are also expressed through prejudice in the form of reaction-formations. In these reaction-formations the exact opposite of what is wished is expressed. With regard to oral preoccupations, reaction-formations express the opposite of the wish to receive or take or be passively-dependent. One instead wishes to be sadistically attacked, to be refused, or to be regarded as self-sufficient and superior.

The wish to be refused or to suffer is an obvious oral wish.³⁴ The wish both to sadistically attack and to suffer seem to lie behind the wish of some Negroes to "get whitey."³⁵ These Negroes have apparently adopted the iden-

³³John McCone, A Report by the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, (Los Angeles: Kintex Corporation, Dec. 1965).

³⁴Bergler, Op. Cit., Ch. V.

³⁵Russell Sackett, "Plotting a War on 'Whitey'," Life, (June 10, 1966) pp. 100-112.

tity noted by Erikson³⁶ as the "evil, phallic-rapist 'nigger'." Although this identity is phallic in nature, the fact that these men know that their plan will probably not forward the cause of the Negro and that it is suicidal in nature (they are prepared to die enacting it), gives away its sado-masochistic basis. These men wish to invite suffering by sadistic attack rather than to endure the enforced passivity of the Negro in this country.

Ackerman and Jahoda present the cases of two white men who employ sadistic attack in their anti-Semitism as a means of avoiding masochistic needs. One (Case 2)³⁷ was an unmarried professional man of thirty-five who believed the Jews to be a powerful, cohesive, international group, and accused them of being inferior petty crooks, and cheaters. In this case the authors had evidence that sadistic tendencies against the Jews served as a defense against the patient's masochistic needs. This release of verbal sadism served especially as a defense against his hostile feelings toward his father (which were also based on masochistic needs).³⁸

³⁶Erikson, Op. Cit., p. 214.

³⁷Ackerman, Op. Cit., p. 96.

³⁸Ibid.

In another case (Case 10)³⁹ of a married man in his early fifties, this mechanism is especially prominent in his anti-Semitism.⁴⁰

The patient identifies with the symbol of the "Wandering Jew" to the extent that he, too, feels homeless and unassimilated in any culture. On the one hand, he has a deep envy of the secure and invulnerable identity of the Jew which enables him to survive every attack. On the other hand, this identification with the Jew represents a potential menace to the patient since it places him always in an exposed and vulnerable position. He, therefore, seeks to destroy this menace through an exaggerated and violent denial of his identification. He seeks to reinforce this denial by joining forces with the attacker of the Jew who are basically his own enemies. This amounts to a self-betrayal, a kind of symbolic suicide.

To a certain extent, the patient's mother represents Jewishness. Figuratively speaking, the Jews were her chosen people. Being rejected by his mother and failing to win her love he felt forced to renounce her. The hate of the Jew, therefore, represents in part a denial of primary love for Jews.

The Jew is also a symbol of his own female, castrated side which he wishes to deny. Being a woman and being circumcized are both evidence of degradation. Here, again, to avoid being the victim it seemed safer to join the attacker.

The threat of passive dependent needs is also defended against with prejudice. Ackerman and Jahoda point this out in the case (Case 6)⁴¹ of an unmarried man in his early twenties who is a white-collar worker. He believes

³⁹Ibid, p. 103. ⁴⁰Ibid, pp. 103-104.

⁴¹Ibid, p. 99.

that Jews are "more clever, more successful, and more sexually potent and attractive than non-Jews." The evidence in this man's case was interpreted by the authors as follows:

The patient attributes to Jews those qualities of superiority which he envies in his father and which he has given up hope of developing in himself. They therefore serve as a projection screen for his hatred of his father. While he does not dare to have phantasies about killing his father, he does have phantasies of exterminating the Jews. Without much success he tries to bolster his self-esteem by an alleged contempt for everything Jewish. To hate the Jews, in contrast to his father's liberal attitude, further serves the function of a defense against his yearnings for complete passive submission to the father.⁴²

This same fight against passive submission also appears in the case (Case 16)⁴³ of an unmarried Jewish salesman in his early twenties. Again, according to Ackerman and Jahoda,

The patient's anti-Semitism is an expression of his struggle against identification with, or passive submission to, his father. There are indications of the patient's fear of a homosexual attachment to his father. Unconsciously he feels that submission to his father would destroy him. The patient is so much preoccupied with not being like his father, and not being Jewish, that he has apparently no drive left to identify in a positive sense with anybody.⁴⁴

This survey of oral preoccupations which are ex-

⁴²Ibid, pp. 99-100.

⁴³Ibid, p. 108.

⁴⁴Ibid.

pressed in prejudice is not meant to be exhaustive, but simply indicative. It is meant to point out that oral preoccupations are operative and in what way.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

A. Summary

This study articulates the unconscious roots of prejudice in terms of symbolic thinking and psychosexual preoccupations. It explores the psychic mechanisms which have a dynamic function in the ego's adaptation to reality, and understands prejudice to be one type of adaptation which involves various combinations of unconscious mechanisms.

The unconscious mechanisms involved in symbolic thinking include (1) the splitting between goodness and badness; (2) the condensation of goodness into such symbols as white, light, clean, safe, and the condensation of badness into such symbols as black, dirty, dark, dangerous; (3) the projection of the badness outside oneself; and (4) the displacement of badness from one external object to another. Such mechanisms at work in the mind of man make it natural for him to regard the white man as light, good and safe and the Negro as dark, bad, and dangerous. Because the white man has light skin he is equated with the symbols of goodness, and because the Negro has dark skin

he is equated with the symbols of badness.

Charles Silberman has pointed out how deeply rooted is the association of white with purity, goodness and hope, and of black with evil, corruption, death, and despair, and also how pervasive it is in our culture.

The Negro children become aware almost from infancy of the approbrium Americans attach to color. They feel it in their parents' voices as they are warned to behave when they stray beyond the ghetto's wall. They become aware of it as they begin to watch television, or go to the movies, or read the mass-circulation magazines; beauty, success, and status all are a white skin. They learn to feel ashamed of their color as they learn to talk, and thereby to absorb the invidiousness our very language attaches to color. White represents purity and goodness, black represents evil. The white lie is the permissible misstatement, the black lie the inexcusable falsehood; the black sheep is the one who goes astray (and when he goes astray he receives a black mark on his record; defeat is black (the stock market crashed on "Black Thursday") victory white. Even James Weldon Johnson's "Negro National Anthem" speaks of Negroes "treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered... till now we stand at last Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.¹

Silberman also points out, however, that such symbolism is not confined to western culture, but is clearly visible even in cultures which predate any contact with Western Europe.

¹Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 49-50

In the highly stylized Chinese theater, for example, the hero's make-up is always white, the villain's always black; the same is true in the depiction of good and evil in the traditional theater of southern Asia, and in the coloring of puppets used in the most popular traditional art of Java. The symbolism can even be found in a number of African tribes. (There is)...a striking example in the performances of Les Ballets of Africaines, a dance troupe for the highly nationalistic state of Guinea which toured the United States in 1959. The troupe performed a traditional ritualistic dance depicting the theme of the duel between good and evil. Both dancers, of course, were black. But the good spirit was dressed in white tunic and white headdress with plume; the evil demon was identically dressed--but in black.²

But prejudice has other unconscious roots than this symbolic type thinking. Such thinking is clung to by individuals because they need it to protect themselves against forbidden impulses and wishes. Such impulses and wishes arise, as has been indicated, in the course of early human development. The eroticization of various bodily zones, the drives to satisfy erotic desires, and the modes by which such desires are satisfied are all involved in the establishment of various preoccupations which haunt individuals. These various preoccupations (oral, anal, phallic) motivate the individual to employ symbolic thinking in order to defend against the forbidden cravings involved.

²Ibid, p. 114.

Phallic preoccupations such as concern with one's inferiority and the impulse to eliminate rivals (especially father), may lead to condensation of such desires and projection of them onto the Negro who is attacked in lynchings or race riots, frequently because of the rumor that a Negro has raped a white woman. The Negro is accused of enacting the forbidden impulse (projection). The Negro is attacked instead of the father, i.e., the attack is displaced, in order to further disguise the forbidden wish. Condensation, projection, and displacement, all processes involved in symbolic thinking, are used together to indict the Negro. Such indictment is prejudice, and protects the white man against forbidden impulses.

Likewise, anal preoccupations, such as the wish to smear feces, are sublimated in the concern with money and acquiring possessions or defended against with obsessions with cleanliness. Both these reactions can be observed in the fight over integrated housing and public accommodations and facilities. And oral preoccupations, such as the wishes to be passively dependent or to sadistically take what one wants, can either be acted out or disguised in such sado-masochistic and destructively envious reactions which occur in race relations.

B. Broad Implications

This dissertation, in stressing the unconscious roots of prejudice demonstrates that Civil Rights is not simply an external problem. It is an internal problem of the greatest magnitude. In exploring the unconscious roots of prejudice one begins to comprehend the deeper levels of human life. What is found at these deeper levels, however, is not to be dismissed as merely evil and destructive. As was indicated, the processes involved in symbolic thinking are integral to the development of the mind of man. And the wishes and impulses contained in the various preoccupations, although often forbidden and defended against, provide motivation for many types of creative and constructive human behavior.

These unconscious factors have a strong determining influence on the kind of individual one is. The use one makes of them for good or evil depends upon their unconscious interaction. If one learns to sublimate otherwise forbidden desires, health is assured. But if one does not, other less constructive mechanisms of adaptation are employed by the ego, and the same desires often manifest themselves in prejudice. Prejudice becomes a type of adaptation employed by the ego, and it functions in such a way as to provide one with at least a temporary identity.

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For this reason, it can be seen that efforts at external integration in race relations may threaten the prejudiced individual's sense of identity, not just his social status or economic security. He becomes frightened over such efforts, because he would then need something to replace the function which prejudice serves in his sense of who he is.

Prejudice functions in many persons identities, and not in just the one who is prejudiced against minorities. Often the person who wishes to protect the minorities' rights is prejudiced.

This point is often overlooked by those engaged in the Civil Rights movement. Kris has said:

The response to prejudice is frequently counter-prejudice; the response to distrust, counter-distrust. Thus, groups linked to each other by prejudice are unified by hate and counter-hate that in turn tends, many a time, to justify prejudice.³

This point is well illustrated by the case of the fighting liberal who, by engaging in the Civil Rights movement, secures a sense of identity for himself. He is prejudiced against the prejudiced person. His prejudice is

³Ernst Kris, "Notes on the Psychology of Prejudice," English Journal, XXXV, 6 (1946), 308.

manifest in the fact that he does not understand and is ready to ride roughshod over the prejudiced person. If he wins in his attack on the prejudiced person, the latter loses doubly--his sense of identity and that something needed to replace the function served by prejudice in his identity. Kris' statement above indicates that the prejudiced person senses such underlying (identity) motives in the fighting liberal and feels entitled to keep his prejudice.

One important implication of this study, then, is that if prejudice is to be reduced, the function which it serves in securing a person's identity must be appreciated, and the person helped to cope more constructively and creatively with the forbidden impulses so defended against. Not only must prejudice be attacked, but the anxiety with which prejudice copes must be allayed if the attack is to be maximally effective. In a study of reactions to fascist propaganda,⁴ Bettelheim and Janowitz found that if propaganda strikes at the roots of a person's frame of security (which prejudice often is) it tends to be reject-

⁴B. Bettelheim and N. Janowitz, "Reactions to Fascist Propaganda: A Pilot Study," Public Opinion Quarterly, XIV (1950), 53-60.

jected. Appeals which can be absorbed onto one's existing system of security and sense of identity are more likely to be effective. The deepening of our common humanity depends not only on our insisting on justice, which is often a justification for counter-prejudice, but also on our recognizing that we are brothers.

C. Implications for the Clergy

One psychological task of religious wise men who deal daily with the hopes, ideals, visions, and myths of men, is to understand the deep and forbidden desires of men and the limitations of symbolic thinking. In the external world mental illness, perverse religious practices, and social injustices ought to be eliminated. But the seriousness of the internal problem which underlies prejudice cannot be ignored. The frustrated aspirations and distorted mental efforts should be of great concern to the clergyman if he is to minister to people successfully.

The church is the main institution in society which tries to renew basic trust, emphasizing the love of God and the brotherhood of man. It insists that with all his envy and destructive wishes, man has not destroyed goodness. However, in order for this message to be communicated, the minister must allow and recognize the severe pain of de-

pression which comes with acknowledging the guilt for one's badness.⁵ Too quick reassurances would be regarded as ignoring the seriousness of the problem. The minister must suffer with persons, neither reassuring them as innocent, nor condemning them as guilty, and work through the depression with them.

It has been necessary to personify good and evil in some meaningful theology and ritual. But the problem ever more becomes how to do this without getting trapped by the symbols. Good, evil, truth, beauty, rightness, wrongness, etc., must somehow become freed of the good and bad father and mother symbols, God and the Devil, so that this traditional way of being God's children (projecting and personifying good and evil) can be transformed into an inner struggle for each man. Each man's own goodness and evil, his light side and his dark side, must somehow achieve integration in his identity as a child of God.

This, it seems, is the basic religious problem of man--to face the abyss (the abyss meaning the mind freed of

⁵See Chapter IV above, pp. 72-78 , where M. Klein discusses how guilt and depression are part of the process of reintegrating the badness which has been projected. Ackerman and Jahoda have made the point that depression is notably absent in the individuals they study. Ackerman, Op. Cit., p. 25.

personification) without turning to idols. But where this problem is faced squarely, some urgent questions arise: Is man able to do this? Will his mind and guts be able to handle it? And what becomes of God and the Devil? Do they become mathematical symbols? If one is without prejudice, what kind of God does one have? And, aside from the possibilities, who wants to hang onto the chasm of the abyss without such supports?

If the minister is to be able to help one who is prejudiced, he must himself be certain that goodness has not been destroyed. This frees him to go again to the abyss. Only if he has achieved some integration of the goodness and badness within himself, is he able to tolerate the ever present split experienced by others without the fear of being left torn apart.

D. Implications of Study for Reducing Discrimination

In the introduction to this study it was acknowledged that the relationship which exists between prejudice and discriminatory behavior is in question. However, it must be granted that if one is free of prejudice he will tend to behave in non-discriminatory ways. The factor of conformity to social norms does play a major role in understanding many persons' behavior. Out of conformity many

prejudiced persons behave in non-discriminatory ways while non-prejudiced persons behave in discriminatory ways. But reducing prejudice does work toward reducing discriminatory behavior. It is simply working on only one of the factors involved in discriminations.

The reader should not be misled on another point. Although this study stresses the unconscious roots of prejudice, it does not imply that prejudice and discrimination could be eliminated by psychotherapy. There are many other factors admittedly involved than the unconscious ones delineated here. Allport⁶ does contend that psychotherapy is probably the best method for reducing prejudice, but even should it prove to be so, the proportion of the population reached with individual psychotherapy would always be small.

The implications this study clearly has for reducing prejudice (and discrimination, hopefully) are contained in the recognition of the function served by prejudice. This recognition would lead to the attempt to allay the anxieties involved and to gear one's approach to the existing security system of the individual. One would refuse to

⁶G. W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1954), 459.

respond to the fear expressed in prejudice, often covered with aggressive hostility, in terms of anger. A relationship must be established with the prejudiced person by which to overcome the fears involved.

In this light, several approaches already advocated by others can be seen as helpful. The passing of legislation against discrimination can have the effect of allaying an individual's anxiety. Although many would simply conform to such laws as new group norms, many others would comply out of a sense of relief. The passing of such laws, despite their threat to one's security operations, would mean to them that the authorities believe that it is possible to live under such changed conditions. The non-violent protests of the Negro can be evaluated in the same light. Although such demonstrations threaten the defensive function served by prejudice, they may also reassure the prejudiced person, if the protests remain non-violent, that the Negro can contain his internal rage and therefore can be considered to be not so dangerous. Many persons are not reassured by new laws and Negro non-violent protests. But the approach must remain that of recognizing and responding to the depth of their fears. It is in this area that much research would be helpful. Aside from individual therapy for such persons, in which many of them refuse

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to engage, what are feasible alternatives? It seems as if the Church and its ministers could play a significant role here. Neighborhood group meetings of an interracial nature for the purpose of becoming more acquainted and discussing one's misconceptions and fears of those who are foreign have, in this writer's experience, brought relief to some. But the strongly prejudiced avoid these groups also. Creative imagination is needed for the conceptualization of new methods as well as research experiments.

One creative and imaginative study of how repressed emotion is sublimated is that of Martin Grotjohn's Beyond Laughter. He demonstrates how humor converts forbidden impulses into acceptable ones. He says:

The energy originally activated to keep the hostility under repression is freed into laughter. The repressed energy is no longer needed, the shock of freedom of thought and freedom from repression is enjoyed and leads to laughter.⁷

E. Suggestions

In an effort to conceptualize new approaches to freeing one of the limitations inherent in the unconscious

⁷Martin Grotjohn, Beyond Laughter, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1957), 256.

roots of prejudice, this writer has pursued the following thoughts.

One becomes free of the limitations of symbolic thinking by understanding what is involved in it. This understanding is achieved by employing secondary process thinking. But such understanding is not sufficient. The forbidden impulses and desires must be handled some way. If no other way is found, symbolic thinking is essential. But some individuals do find other ways of coping with these desires, they sublimate them. They find socially acceptable gratification for them, e.g., the forbidden wish to smear feces is sublimated in painting, sculptoring, or cooking.

The question arises of how to find adequate sublimation for the forbidden desires which lie behind prejudice. Such sublimations would probably have to be of a group or mass nature, since that which it would replace has to do with groups.

The Germans attempt to deal with the cleavage between the good and bad sides of men in seasons of Fasching and the October Festival. These seasons are pressure valves for a repressive society, where the dark and unruly side of man is brought under some control. It is still not an internal integration of the good and bad sides, one's

ambivalence, but it is not so dangerous as rioting. It is planned release, much like the Olympiad of ancient Greece. In this context one expresses the dark side of oneself, but is permitted to disown it as part of the season's expectations. The expression itself is more directly sexual in nature and much of the hostile component is unnecessary.

In frontier America, the religious camp meetings seem to fulfill this same function. It was not as if they were designed to endorse promiscuity, but promiscuity did happen. They were designed to encourage the freedom of religious expression, and much was expressed in the name of religion. For example, many emotions found freedom in the "shakes" one sometimes got as a result of a conversion.

The present day approved releases seem to be celebrations like the Mardi Gras. Political and other conventions are not designed specifically for emotional release of forbidden impulses, and the television cameras do not usually portray this. But one is expected to live just a bit freer when he attends a convention, so that he and others can enjoy it vicariously for some time afterwards.

Such group activities do obviously release many for bidden impulses and they are not the menace race riots represent. But what is needed is some study in depth of what happens to individuals who attend such outings.

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